

THE MALAYAN JOURNAL OF TROPICAL GEOGRAPHY

VOLUME NINE

DECEMBER 1956

PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA, SINGAPORE

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
MALAYADVIPA : a Study in Early Indianization - - - -	1
By DATO SIR ROLAND BRADDELL, S.P.M.J., M.A., D. Litt., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S.	
THE MALAY PENINSULA	
AS KNOWN TO THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS - - - -	21
By G.R. TIBBETTS, M.A., A.L.A., University of Khartoum.	
MALAYAN AND SUMATRAN PLACE-NAMES	
IN CLASSICAL MALAY LITERATURE - - - -	61
By P.E. DE JOSSELIN DE JONG, Ph.D., University of Leiden.	
CHINESE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORICAL	
GEOGRAPHY OF MALAYA BEFORE A.D. 1500 - - - -	71
By P. WHEATLEY, M.A., University of Malaya.	

It is regretted that diacritical marks were not available
for the setting of the following papers.

The Editor

MALAYADVIPA

A STUDY IN EARLY INDIANIZATION

By DATO SIR ROLAND BRADDELL

Malaya is a cross-roads country, whose early story is one of movements by sea of peoples, cultures and religions; of sea-trade and navigation; of the search for minerals, spices and natural products; of the resultant creation of entrepôts, settlements and kingdoms; and of the struggles and rivalries of those kingdoms for the control of mineral wealth and sea-borne trade. As one tries to unravel this story, one has to travel far and wide, and of the countries to which one must go none is more important than India. It is impossible to draw any picture of life in Malaysia and southern Indo-China during the early centuries of the Christian era without a knowledge of the contemporary history, culture and religious beliefs of India. Though each of these regions received civilization in the strict sense from India and not from China, the wealth and variety of Chinese source-material contrasts strangely with the poverty of Indian. Unfortunately, Indian writers were not interested in history or geography in our sense of those terms. For the most part, they recorded what they had to say in Sanskrit verse or in Tamil court poetry, and there is nearly always difficulty in assigning dates either to the works themselves or to the facts stated in them. But the studies of Indian scholars during recent years have removed many difficulties and have made ancient India and its ideas much easier to understand.¹ It is necessary now, by way of introduction, to explain what Indian literature is available for the study of early Indianization in South-East Asia.

The antiquity of navigation on the western half of the main sea-route from the West to China has been proved,² but very much less is known about the eastern half. We cannot say for certain when Indian ships first began to sail in the waters of Malaysia and southern Indo-China, but the sum of the available archaeological evidence shows that it must have been some centuries before the Christian era, and the general tendency nowadays is to accept Kennedy's view³ that the main sea-route was in active operation as far as China from at least the sixth century B.C. The *Rigveda* is the oldest piece of Indian literature extant and its language may be said to be of about 1000 B.C., but the oldest parts of its contents are of much more ancient date.⁴ Though there has been dispute upon the subject, there is good ground for considering that sea-navigation is mentioned in the *Rigveda*, and there is a clear reference in it to the "eastern and western oceans".⁵ These two oceans are mentioned again in the *Satapatha Brahmana*,⁶ and are the equivalents of our Bay of Bengal and Arabian Sea, but

1. Attention should be drawn in particular to the new series called *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, written by many of India's foremost scholars and produced under the directions of the lawyer-scholar Dr. K. M. Munshi. It gives an Indian picture of Indian history. Vol. 1, *The Vedic Age*, (London, 2nd imp., 1952); Vol. 2, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, (Bombay, 1951); Vol. 3, *The Classical Age*, (Bombay, 1954); Vol. 4, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (Bombay, 1955). This series will be cited as HCIP.
2. E.g., J. Hornell, "Sea-trade in Early Times," *Antiquity* (London, 1941), pp. 233-56.
3. J. Kennedy, "The Early Commerce of Babylon with India: 700-300 B.C.," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1948), pp. 233-56.
4. B.K. Ghosh, HCIP., vol. 1, p. 225.
5. V.M. Apte, HCIP., vol. 1, pp. 396-7.
6. A.D. Pusalkar, HCIP., vol. 1, p. 251; Apte, op. cit., p. 461.

to the ancient Indians the Bay of Bengal was the Indian Ocean, or contained in it.⁸ Sea-borne trade with Babylon in Indian ships cannot be later than the sixth century B.C., and possibly a good deal earlier.⁹ Both the coasts of India nurtured peoples who were hardy and skilled navigators. The Rigveda speaks of men who go to the ocean eager for gain. The same monsoons serve the main sea-route west and east of India. Since the desire for gain sent Indian ships to the west, why not also across the Bay of Bengal and through the Straits of Malacca? Each was a normal development and, if the sixth century B.C. is accepted for the western one, it is a likelihood, if not a probability, for the eastern one. On the whole of the evidence the sixth century B.C. can be predicated as a chronological point from which to begin thinking of Indian penetration into the waters of South-East Asia. The dating of the *Puranas* is better postponed until Chapter 48 of the *Vayu Purana* is discussed (pp. 6-7 below).

The sixth century B.C. was one of intellectual and religious upheaval in India, which led to the rise of four new religious sects, Jainism, Buddhism, Vaishnavism and Saivism.¹⁰ The first played no known part in the Indianization of Malaysia and southern Indo-China, but the other three did, particularly Buddhism. Vaishnavism and Saivism were Hindu sects; but Jainism and Buddhism were revolts against the ritualistic formalism of the Brahman priesthood. *Sanskrit*¹¹ was the language of the learned used by the Brahman priesthood: *Prakrit*¹² was the language of the people and the ancestor of the Prakritic dialects still spoken throughout India. Like Jainism, Buddhism taught in the language of the people. The first form of the religion is known as the *Hinayana* or 'Little Vehicle', which is preserved in the Pali Canon still used in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand. "The term Pali means actually the 'text', the text *par excellence*, that is, the text of the Buddhist scriptures, but it indicates also the language in which the sacred scriptures of Buddhism are recorded, and the script in which these are written."¹³ The name Pali was used by the monks of Ceylon to distinguish the early Prakrit dialect of the Canon from the commentaries which were written in Sinhalese. "But the origin of Pali, or in other words the particular Prakrit dialect from which it was derived, is a matter of dispute among scholars, and no unanimous conclusion has yet been arrived at."¹⁴ The later form of Buddhism known as the *Mahayana* or 'Great Vehicle', emerged at a date which is not easy to determine with particularity but which can be stated as some time during the first century A.D. It soon took to Sanskrit for the expression of its doctrines and it laid great stress upon the international aspect of the religion, as the great Mauryan Emperor Asoka, c.273-c.232 B.C., had tried to do with regard to the *Hinayana*.¹⁵ It was probably this internationalism which made the religion so strong a force in South-East Asia and China, and which aided the marked Indianization in Malaysia and southern Indo-China during the first five centuries of the Christian era. In India the gradual dominance of Hinduism began in the fourth century A.D., but Buddhism, Vaishnavism and Saivism appear to have had a peaceful existence

8. The Vedic *Brabmanas* are prose treatises in Sanskrit and a little later than the Vedas: *brabmana* means 'explanation'.

9. Hornell, *op. cit.*

10. See generally HCIP., vol. 2, ch. 19.

11. *Sanskrita*, 'put together.'

12. *Prakrita*, 'common, vulgar.'

13. D. Diringer, *The Alphabet* (London, 2nd ed., 1949), p. 388.

14. M.A. Mehendale, HCIP., vol. 2, p. 283.

15. For a very useful work on Buddhism generally see P.C. Bagchi *India and China, a Thousand Years of Cultural Relations* (Bombay, 2nd ed., 1950), and pp. 1-2, 100-3 for the international aspect.

together in Malaysia and southern Indo-China, undisturbed by any conflict, until the final acceptance of Islam. The chronological period relevant to this paper does not extend beyond A.D. 500 and that date is, therefore, the terminus at which "early Indianization" must be assumed to end for present purposes.

Writers upon the historical geography of South-East Asia are accustomed to refer to the *Jatakas*, the *Niddesa*, the *Milinda-panha*; and, very occasionally, the *Brihatkatha*.¹⁶ The dating of these works is not easy, still less that of the facts to which they refer. The last-named, meaning "Great Romance", is lost but was written by an author assigned to the first and second centuries A.D. Its substance is said to be contained in two much later works.¹⁷ No more need be said about it, as it will not be used in this paper. The other three are Buddhist works of considerable importance to the subject of Indian sea-voyaging and sea-trade. The Pali Canon consists of three *pitakas* or 'baskets', and is known accordingly as the *Tipitaka* or Three Baskets. The second of these is the *Sutta Pitaka* and contains the greatest works of Buddhism in prose and verse. It is divided into five parts, the last of which is of a miscellaneous character, comprising among others the *Jatakas*, 'lives', and the *Niddesa*, 'exposition'. The former are folktales (more than 500) which tell of the successive incarnations of Gautama (c.563-c.483 B.C.) before the one in which he became the Buddha or Enlightened One.¹⁸ The *Niddesa* is a commentary upon the *Suttanipata*, a collection of poems which forms another part of the *Sutta Pitaka*. It is divided into two sections, the first of which is called *Maha*, 'great', and contains the only passage in the work about sea-voyaging.¹⁹ The *Milinda-panha*, "Questions of Milinda", is a Pali non-canonical work which records a dialogue upon the doctrines and problems of Buddhism between King Milinda of Sagala and a Buddhist monk named Nagasena, who cannot be identified. It contains only one short passage concerning sea-voyaging.²⁰

The *Jatakas* are clearly referable to the late centuries B.C., but an exact date cannot be assigned. Some of the stories were certainly in existence during the third century B.C. because they are sculptured upon pillars erected by Asoka, and some few others may even have existed in pre-Buddhist times. On the whole, it seems safe to relate the picture of Indian sea-trade given in the *Jatakas* to the fourth or third centuries B.C., and Hornell thinks that it may even go back to 400 B.C.²¹ The Mauryan empire lasted from c.325 to c.188 B.C., and it is not unreasonable to think that during the whole of that period stories from the *Jatakas* were exceedingly popular. Where ancient Indian literature is concerned the date to which a text must be referred does not have much relation to the date to which the contents must be referred, and much analysis is still necessary before any exact chronology of the contents of the *Jatakas* can be assigned. As matters stand, it can only be said that the stories are accepted by all as being pre-Christian and in existence during the late centuries B.C.

16. E.g. S. Lévi, "Ptolémée, le *Niddesa* et la *Brihatkatha*", *Etudes Asiatiques*, vol. 2 (Paris 1952), pp. 1-55.

17. R.C. Majumdar, *Ancient India* (Banaras, 1952), p. 470; M.A. Mehendale, *HCIP*, vol. 2, p. 285.

18. For an English translation of the *Jatakas* see E.B. Cowell, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 1895-1913).

19. See the writer's "An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula" (*Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 17, pt. 1; Singapore, 1939, p. 157) for a partial translation of this passage.

20. For partial translation see P. Wheatley in this *Journal*, vol. 2 (1954), p. 38: cf. M.R.F.St.A. St. John, "Takkola", *Actes du Onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes* (Paris, 1897) p. 217.

21. Hornell, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-51.

Dr. A.D. Pusalkar says, "From its inclusion in the canon, it is evident that the *Niddesa* was the oldest of the Pali commentaries,"²² and Dr. R.C. Majumdar says that it "may be referred to a period not later than the second century A.D."²³ Dr. Pusalkar also says, "The *Milinda-panha* originated in north-west India about the beginning of the Christian era and was written probably in Sanskrit or some north-Indian Prakrit. The original text is lost, and the present is merely a Pali translation of the original made at a very early date in Ceylon."²⁴ It is agreed by all that the Yavana King Milinda of Sagala was the Indo-Greek King Menander (c.190-c.115 B.C.), whose dominions appear to have comprised the central parts of Afghanistan, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sind, Rajputana and Kathiawar, and probably also a portion of the western United Provinces.²⁵ It is, however, usual to ascribe the *Milinda-panha* to the same general period as the *Niddesa* and to state that period as the first and second centuries A.D.,²⁶ but the history of some of the toponyms used in that work can be taken much further back.

Thus, the name *Suvarnabhumi*, 'gold land', appears frequently in the Jatakas in connection with Indian sea-voyages to the east, and occurs also in the two passages relating to sea-voyaging in the *Niddesa* and the *Milinda-panha*. This toponym was for long identified with Lower Burma, and possibly also the adjacent region of Thailand. Hornell identified it with the Malay Peninsula in 1941;²⁷ Bagchi said in 1950 that it was the Malay Peninsula and the neighbouring islands;²⁸ Majumdar treated it in 1951 as the Far East;²⁹ Nilakanta Sastri wrote in 1952 of "the mysterious land of *Suvarnabhumi* which has been proved to be a generic title in those days for Burma, the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago;"³⁰ and R.K. Mookerji, referring to the mission of the Buddhist monks Sona and Uttara to *Suvarnabhumi*, identifies that place with the Far East or Burma.³¹ *Suvarnabhumi* was an Indian Eldorado and can be said best to have embraced the gold-bearing regions of South-East Asia and so to have been the earliest Indian name to cover Malaysia. The merchants and seamen of the Jatakas took as their guardian deity Buddha in his form *Dipankara*, 'calmer of the waves', and images of him in this form are amongst the earliest physical proofs of Indianization in South-East Asia. They are in the style of the South Indian school of art at Amaravati during the first and second centuries A.D. Amaravati today is an insignificant little village on the south bank of the Krishna (Kistna) River, not far above the head of the delta and some twenty miles northwards of Guntur: but it was once a great point from which Indian influences were spread into South-East Asia and the Jatakas show that its merchants carried on a brisk trade with *Suvarnabhumi*.

It should be explained that in this paper the expression 'South India' is used to denote the whole of the peninsula south of the Narbada (ancient *Narmada*) River and the Vindhya Mountains. It corresponds thus to the widest sense of the ancient Sanskrit name *Daksinapatha*, 'right-hand path', and so 'south path', since

22. *HCIP.*, vol. 2, p. 406.

23. *HCIP.*, vol. 2, p. 652.

24. *HCIP.*, vol. 2, p. 409.

25. D.R. Sircar, *HCIP.*, vol. 2, p. 115.

26. Professor Nilakanta Sastri, however has suggested c. A.D. 400 for the *Milinda-panha* in *The Colas*, Vol. 1 (Madras, 1935), pp. 623-4.

27. Hornell, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

28. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

29. *HCIP.*, vol. 2, pp. 651, -2, -4.

30. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* (Banaras, 1952) p. 270.

31. *HCIP.*, vol. 2, p. 84.

the ancient Indians oriented to the east and not to the north. This old name continues to live in the modern form Deccan. The expression "southern India" is used to denote that part of South India which lies south of the Krishna River and its main tributary the Tungabhadra, and corresponds thus to Tamilakam, the country of the Tamils. India was *Bharatavarsa*, the 'Land of Bharata', a king famous in the traditions preserved in the Puranas, and it formed part of a larger unit *Jambudvīpa*, which will be considered later. North India was either *Aryavarta*, the 'Land of the Aryans' or *Uttarapatha*, both names having been used. *Uttara* was the name of the Pole Star. The Narbada rises in the east and flows through the valley between the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges almost due west to debouch into the Gulf of Cambay. Broach, the principal port in the Gulf, is on the north bank of the Narbada some thirty miles upstream. In this paper the western seaboard of South India, washed by the Arabian Sea, is divided into the 'Konkan coast' from Daman to the Rio Terekhol, and then the 'Malabar coast' down to Cape Comorin. The eastern seaboard is divided into the 'Orissa coast' from the Hooghly River down to Cocanada (Coringa) Bay, and thence the 'Coromandel coast' down to Point Calimere.

The Jatakas and the Niddesa name *Bharukaccha*; the Puranas say that *Bhrigukaccha*, 'Plain of Bhrigu', was a place on the right bank of the Narmada, and show that the *Bhrigus* were "great navigators and expert mariners who controlled the maritime trade between India and the western world, and occupied the coastal line on the Arabia Sea."³² *Bharukaccha* appears as *Barygaza*, with its river the *Nammadus*, in the *Periplus*, written at some date within the limits of A.D. 70 and A.D. 80 and giving a detailed picture of Roman sea-trade with western India during the middle of the first century A.D. The place is identified with certainty as the modern Broach. The *Milinda-panha* does not name *Bharukaccha* but the *Periplus* states that at the time when it was written the *drachmae* coined by Menander were in current use at *Barygaza*.³³ The Jatakas tell "of traders coasting round India from *Bharukaccha* on the west to *Suvarnabhumi* in the east, and touching on the way at a port in Ceylon: of a newly arrived ship laden with cargo which was bought up at the landing place by a hundred waiting and competing merchants; and of ships large enough to carry 500 and 700 passengers."³⁴ The other ancient port on the west coast of India named in the *Niddesa* is *Suppara*, given the same name in the *Periplus* but appearing in the Puranas in the Sanskrit form *Surparaka*. It is identified with certainty as the present Sopara, a few miles north of Bombay.

The ancient port on the east coast was the inland one called *Champa*. In later Vedic times there was a state in East Bihar called *Anga*. Its capital at first was called *Malini* but this was changed to *Champa* or *Champavati*, identified with certainty as the present Bhagalpur up the Ganges, ancient *Ganga*.³⁶ The Jatakas prove great mercantile activity on the Ganges, and Benares or Banaras, much higher up the river than Bhagalpur, was also an inland port. The stories tell of a prince Mahajanaka, who was banished by his father and went to Champa, where he collected pearls, diamonds and other jewels and sailed with them in a ship bound for *Suvarnabhumi*, together with other merchants.³⁷ They tell also "of a whole village of defaulting woodwrights escaping at night in a ship down the Ganga from Banaras out to the sea; of passengers safely brought by ships from

32. Pusalkar, *HCIP.*, vol. 2, pp. 282-3.

33. W.H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Philadelphia, 1912), pp. 41-2.

34. Majumdar, *HICP.*, vol. 2, p. 602.

36. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 72.

37. H.G. Rawlinson *India, a short cultural history* (London, 1948), p. 147.

the sea up to Banaras:"³⁸ and of a body of merchants who travelled from Banares to *Baveru* (Babylon).³⁹

It would be most useful if all the passages in the Jatakas which relate to sea-trade and voyaging could be collected and printed together. As Dr. R. C. Majumdar has written, "From the fourth century B.C., trade and maritime activities were highly developed, and the Board of Admiralty and the Naval Department were efficiently organised by the Mauryas. It was this naval supremacy that enabled the Indians to colonise the islands in the Indian Archipelago. Shortly after, there grew up a regular traffic between India and China, both by land and sea."⁴⁰

The name *Malayadvipa*, used as the title to this paper, occurs in Chapter 48 of the *Vayu Purana* and apparently nowhere else in ancient Indian literature. In 1937 the present writer discussed this place tentatively,⁴¹ and Professor Nilakanta Sastri very kindly provided a literal translation of the whole chapter into English.⁴² This remains still the only translation in any European language, but it was printed, unfortunately, with most of the diacritical marks omitted owing to the absence locally of the necessary type. Much fuller studies made since 1937, aided by a stay in South India during the years 1942-6, have led the writer to the following impressions.

- (1) the earliest Indian penetration into Sumatra was made from the west coast of the island and spread eastwards;
- (2) the most satisfactory location of *Malayadvipa* is in Sumatra;
- (3) the best derivation of the name *Malayu* is from Sanskrit *Malaya*, Tamil *Malai*, meaning 'mountain':—

Malayanists may feel satisfied that the centuries old spelling *Malayu* ought to be altered to *Mēlayu*, but historians can only deplore the change and the old way is retained in this paper. Its earliest recorded appearance is in the Chinese form *Mo-lo-yu*, an exact transcription. This was the name of a kingdom and a port on the east coast of Sumatra during the seventh century A.D.,⁴³ and so is outside the scope of this paper.

The Sanskrit word *dvipa*, Prakrit *dīpa*, though frequently translated 'island', indicates a piece of land having water on two sides and is rendered best as 'island-continent'. The Chinese used their word *chou* similarly, as did the Arabs their word *jazīrat*; and the Malay word *pulau* is not confined to an island proper, particularly in Sumatra where it can mean the level bank of a river.⁴⁴

Chapter 48 of the *Vayu Purana* begins by telling of the numbers of islands south of Bharatavarsa and then goes on to name and describe six provinces (*pradesa*) of *Jambudvīpa*, but calls these sub-dvipas (*anudvīpa*) at the conclusion. These six places are named respectively *Angadvīpa*, *Yamadvīpa*, *Malayadvīpa*, *Sankhadvīpa*, *Kusadvīpa* (called *Kumudadvīpa* in its description) and *Varadvīpa*. The name Bharatavarsa means the whole of India as a rule and Dr. R. C. Majumdar says that "early Buddhist evidence suggests that *Jambu-dvīpa* was a

38. Majumdar, *HCIP*, vol. 2, p. 602.

39. Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., p. 270.

40. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, p. 222.

41. "Ancient Times", (1937), pp. 35-75.

42. Ibid., pp. 115-6.

43. See the writer's "Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya", *JMBRAS.*, vol. 23, pt. 1, (1950), pp. 9-34.

44. A.N. van der Hoop, *Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra* (Zutphen, n.d.), p. 3.

territorial designation actually in use from the third century B.C. at the latest, and was applied to that part of Asia, outside China, throughout which the prowess of the great imperial family of the Mauryas made itself felt". Bharatavarsa, he says, "was considered to be the innermost of seven concentric island-continents into which the earth, as conceived by Hindu cosmographers, was supposed to have been divided."⁴⁵ But Puranic cosmography is a subject of continual dispute among Indian scholars. The facts necessary for our present purposes can be obtained from *The Purana Index*, by the late Professor Ramachandra Dikshitar.⁴⁶ This index may be supplemented usefully from Dr. D. R. Patil's *Cultural History from the Vayu Purana* (Poona, 1946).

Bharatavarsa is placed south of the Himalayas; is divided into nine divisions; is bounded on the east by the Kiratas and on the west by the Yavanas; contains seven chief mountains, amongst which are Vindhya, Mahendra and Malaya; and is the best of all territories in Jambudvipa. The Kiratas, who are mentioned in the Vedic literature, are an eastern mountain people, and are considered to be hill-tribes of Nepal and Assam. The Yavanas were the Asian Greeks, including the Indo-Greeks on the north-west of India. Jambudvipa occupies the central position of the globe with Mount Meru in its very centre; is in the form of a lotus leaf containing nine parts divided from a jambu tree; is surrounded by salt sea; and has two oceans, west and east.

Chapter 48 of the Vayu can be interpreted, therefore, as beginning with a description of the islands at the south of India, and then continuing with a picture of the six island-continents of Asia further south; and before examining that picture it is necessary to assign a dating to the chapter. Like the Vedic literature and the Jatakas, the Puranas were passed down orally long before they were committed to writing. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar says, "The Puranas, in their present recension, can hardly be placed earlier than the Gupta period. Thus they received their final form more than 2,000 years after the earliest events related by them."⁴⁹ It is usual to give the Gupta period the general dating of A.D. 300-600. We shall not be far wrong, therefore, if we assign the name Malayadvipa to the Gupta period not later than A.D. 500, and the facts concerning it to the early centuries of the Christian era, or even perhaps to the last two centuries of the pre-Christian period.

Another Sanskrit work which scholars agree generally to assign to the Gupta period is the *Raghuvamsa*, written by India's foremost secular poet Kalidasa. Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya, who has written a specialized study of Kalidasa, considers him to have been born c. A.D. 365 and to have died c. A.D. 445, the *Raghuvamsa* having been completed between A.D. 425 and 430.⁵² Dr. D. C. Sircar also considers that Kalidasa lived in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.;⁵³ but Dr. R. C. Majumdar thinks that "the safest course is to hold that Kalidasa flourished some time between 100 B.C. and A.D. 450."⁵⁴ This would also be a reasonably satisfactory period to assign to the Malayadvipa of the Vayu Purana. Many of the place-names which appear in the *Raghuvamsa* are, however, far more ancient than the work itself.

45. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

46. V.R.R. Dikshitar, *The Purana Index*, 2 vols. (Madras, 1951-2).

49. *HCIP.*, vol. 1, p. 267.

52. *India in Kalidasa* (1947), pp. 359, 361.

53. *HCIP.*, vol. 2, p. 119.

54. *HCIP.*, vol. 2, p. 303.

The earliest epigraphical evidence of Indianization appears in southern Indo-China in the second century A.D. and in Malaysia c.A.D. 400. The former comes from the ancient site of Oc Eo (see below) and consists of a series of short Sanskrit inscriptions of a religious character inscribed on a number of the objects discovered.⁵⁵ They are written in a South Indian Brahmi script and date palaeographically from the second to the fifth centuries A.D. Brahmi "is the earliest form of Indian writing known to us, and from it have been derived, by slow evolution through ages, all the Indian characters current today, including Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese."⁵⁶ The rest of the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions known in South-East Asia are in the script called Pallava which, though convenient as a description, is in fact a misnomer. It is a box-headed script which was first called Vengi, that being used as a general name for the delta region of the Krishna and Godavari rivers, the heart-land of the Telugu-speaking Andhras lying between Kalinga to the north and the Pallava country to the south.^{56a} In 1918 Vogel laid great emphasis on the Pallava connection with South-East Asia and adopted for the script the name of *Pallava*.⁵⁷ The name has remained in use ever since, but it is known now that this script is not specifically Pallava but was prevalent on the Coromandel coast and in use by the Andhras amongst others.⁵⁸ In point of fact, the earliest Pallava inscriptions in India are in Prakrit on copperplates and dated palaeographically A.D. 250-350, after which copperplates in Sanskrit come from A.D. 359-600, and then stone and copperplate from the seventh century A.D.⁵⁹ From 1888 it was customary to regard the inscription of Vo-can, in the Nha-trang region of southern Annam, as the oldest of the Sanskrit ones in the Pallava script and to assign it palaeographically to the third century A.D. For long it was regarded as a Champa inscription. Then Professor Coedès argued that it was in reality a Fu-nan one, and identified the Sri Mara of the inscription with Fan Shih-man, king of Fu-nan in the third century A.D. This became accepted until Dr. D. C. Sircar, disputed it, and now the whole theory has been criticized so destructively and logically by Professor Emile Gaspardone⁶⁰ that it will be wiser to place the Vo-can inscription alongside the ones in Pallava script which c. A.D. 400 begin to appear in Malaya, Borneo and Java.

Like the earliest epigraphical evidence, the first positive evidence of Indianization in South-East Asia comes from the ancient site at Oc Eo, which was discovered and explored by the French archaeologist Louis Malleret. This site lies at the foot of the small massif of Bathé, between Long Xuyen and Rash Gia. It was connected by canals with the Bassak River and with another ancient site at Ta Kèo, some eleven kilometres from the shore of Rash Gia Bay. Ta Kèo, was connected by canal with the shore of the Bay and appears to have been the port for Oc Eo, which the finds prove to have been an industrial and commercial centre in maritime relations with Siam, Malaya, India, Indonesia, Iran, and certainly the Mediterranean, either directly or through the intermediary of India. The

55. To avoid continual foot-notes the reader is referred to the works set out in the bibliography at the end of this paper.

56. Majumdar, *HCIP.*, vol. 1, p. 53.

56a. Vengi itself is the modern Pedda-Vengi, seven miles north of Ellore between the Krishna and the Godavari.

57. J.P. Vogel, "The Yupa Inscriptions of King Mulavarman from Koetei (East Borneo)", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie* (Batavia, 1918), Diel 74, pp. 167-232.

58. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of Sri Vijaya* (Madras, 1949), pp. 17, 27.

59. R. Sathianathaier, *HCIP.*, vol. 3, p. 257.

60. E. Gaspardone, "La Plus Ancienne Inscription d'Indochine", *Journal Asiatique* (Patis. 1953), pp. 477-85.

preponderant part, however, was played by South India, and probably the Coromandel coast. The evidence shows that South Indians were settled at Oc Eo amongst an indigenous people of 'Indonesian' type portrayed on several of the objects found. The presence of Vaishnavism, Saivism, and Buddhism is attested, and the great preponderance of imports were Indian. Two Buddhist bronzes in the style of Gandhara, A.D. 100-300, were found as well as a Buddhist copper statuette in the style of Amaravati; of the second or third centuries A.D. A cameo has figures upon it like those of Indians from north-western India and there is evidence of Indo-Scythian affinities. The finds of Iranian origin included a glass disc with the bust of a man wearing a Scythian head-dress, a beard and plaited locks of hair, who is smelling a flower and is reminiscent of effigies on Sassanian coins. Perhaps the most surprising evidence is that of Roman imports, which could, of course, have arrived through Indian middlemen, though the possibility of Romano-Greek ships having sailed direct to the port of Oc Eo cannot be excluded. There are intaglios engraved with Mediterranean subjects, notably composite figures of Roman or Greek origin, and two Roman medallions of Antonine emperors. One of these bears a mutilated legend in which the name of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180) can be distinguished, and the other gives the name of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161) and a date which corresponds to A.D. 152. The possibility that Oc Eo was the *Zabai* of Ptolemy seems to be a rational conjecture.

Oc Eo had highly developed industries in metals, beads, glyptics and jewellery. The gold work is so noticeable that Malleret attributes a gold cult to the place. Tin, iron, copper and lead were also used. None of these metals could have come from the Trans-Bassak region and must have been imported from elsewhere. One very possible site for the tin and the gold would have been the east coast of Malaya, where there exists a chain of ancient mining sites stretching from Pahang to Patani and, from the archaeological evidence, contemporaneous with Oc Eo.⁶¹ Some of the objects found at Oc Eo portray an animal with a jet of saliva issuing from its mouth and associated with the symbols of the sun and the moon. It is reminiscent of the gold 'kijang' (barking deer) coins minted in Kelantan, Trengganu and Patani by various Muslim Sultans,⁶² and of the bull vomit mentioned in the *Sejarah Malayu*; but in our present state of knowledge it would be unwise to draw any inferences.

There is no doubt that Oc Eo was the commercial centre of the ancient kingdom known to us only by its Chinese name of Fu-nan, a transcription of the old Khmer word for 'mountain'. Fu-nan was centred on the lower course and in the delta of the Mekhong River, and the great Khmer empire grew out of it. The earliest accounts of it were written by two Chinese envoys, K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying, who visited it during the period A.D. 245-250 and, while there, gathered accounts of a large number of other South Sea kingdoms. It was these envoys who recorded the local tradition that the kingdom of Fu-nan had been founded by an Indian named Kaundinya, who came by sea and married the local chieftainess. This tradition is accepted by all authorities, who date the event towards the end of the first century A.D. Kaundinya's family was replaced by indigenous kings who used the name *Fan*, now known to have been an ethnic

61. Anker Rentse, "A Historical Note on the Northeastern Malay States", *JMBRAS.*, vol. 20, pt. 1, (1947), pp. 23-40; W. Linehan, "Traces of a Bronze Age Culture associated with Iron Age Implements in the Region of Klang and the Tembeling, Malaya", *JMBRAS.*, vol. 24, pt. 3 (1951), pp. 1-59.

62. Anker Rentse, "Gold Coins of the North-Eastern Malay States", *JMBRAS.*, vol. 17, pt. 1 (1939), pp. 88-97.

one.⁶³ But at a period considered to be in the first half of the fifth century A.D., a second Kaundinya came by sea from P'an-p'an to Fu-nan and Indianized the kingdom afresh. All the later kings of Fu-nan claimed to be of the Kaundinya family, which is known from Mysore inscriptions to have been a prominent one in South India during the second and fourth centuries A.D.⁶⁴ P'an-p'an was clearly an Indianized kingdom somewhere on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula and was bounded at its north by the Indianized kingdom called *Lang-ya-hsiu* by the Chinese. The *Liang shu* says that the traditional founding of *Lang-ya-hsiu* occurred 400 years before A.D. 515. The name continues to appear in various forms up to the sixteenth century A.D. and is considered in all the forms to represent the Malay name *Langkasuka*. Although its boundaries may have changed from time to time, it was always centred in Patani.⁶⁵

Among the accounts taken back to China by K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying is one of a place called *Tun-sun*, which had a port apparently of the same name. It contained five kingdoms (unnamed), all of which were vassals of Fu-nan. The region of *Tun-sun* would appear to have been the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, if not the whole, and its port must clearly have been on the west coast, since it was a main entrepôt to which merchants came in great numbers to barter and where people from the East and West met. There never has been a main entrepôt on the east coast of the Peninsula owing to the meteorological conditions there. The western side of *Tun-sun* was in relation with India and the eastern with Indo-China. The Chinese account shows quite clearly that *Tun-sun* was Indianized by the first half of the third century A.D., since it says that 500 families of Indians⁶⁶ lived there, as well as 1,000 Brahmans who intermarried with the local people, and that there were two Buddhist monuments. That would indicate that *Tun-sun* must have been already Indianized for some time and enable the date of that Indianization to be carried back to the second century A.D. at least.

There is archaeological and epigraphical evidence which proves a marked Indianization in Kedah (including Province Wellesley) during the Gupta period from c. A.D. 400; and there may have been an Indian or Indianized settlement in the Kinta Valley, Perak, during the Gupta period of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.⁶⁷ It is accepted generally that the Tamil name *Kalagam* which occurs in the *Pattinappalai* is the same as the Tamil names *Kadaram* and *Kidaram* and the Sanskrit *Katapa*, all identified with Kedah. If this is so, then Kedah was known to the Tamils as early as that poem which "cannot be placed later than the end of the second century A.D."⁶⁸

Unfortunately, there is no evidence of any certainty with regard to Indianization in Sumatra prior to the seventh century A.D. It is continually said that the Chinese name *Kan-t'o-li*, which appears in the *Liang Shu* as having sent an

63. Gaspardone, op. cit., pp. 480-3; R.A. Stein "Le Lin-yi, sa Contribution à la Formation du Champa et ses Liens avec la Chine", *Han-hsiue*, vol. 2 (Peking, 1947), pp. 251-8.

64. B.R. Chatterjee, "Recent Advances in Kambuja Studies," *Journal of the Greater India Society* (London, 1931), p. 139.

65. See discussion by the writer, "Notes on Ancient Times" (1951), pp. 1-27.

66. The word used is *hu*, which normally indicates Central Asians; Pelliot thought that merchants might be indicated, as the *hu* were distinguished in the passage from the Brahmans.

67. H.G. Quaritch Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya", *JMBRAS.*, vol. 18, pt. 1 (1940), pp. 1-50; Dorathy C. and H.G. Quaritch Wales, "Further Work on Indian Sites in Malaya", *JMBRAS.*, vol. 20 (1947), pp. 1-11.

68. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "Katapa," *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. 5 (Calcutta, 1938), pp. 128-46, and *Sri Vijaya*, pp. 25-6; see also the present author, *JMBRAS.*, vol. 22 (1949), pt. I, pp. 5-15.

embassy to China during the period A.D. 454-462, was Sumatra. But the only geographical information is that it was on a *chou* in the South Sea and there is no mention of gold among its products, which would be extraordinary if it were Sumatra. When the identification is analysed, it will be found to rest upon Chinese tradition in 1879 and a fancied resemblance between *Kan-t'o-li* and *Andelas* or *Andalas*, a Malay name applied to Sumatra according to evidence which is very many centuries later than the Chinese name. There is more probability that the Chinese name *P'i-ch'ien* applied to some part of Sumatra. The account of it was carried back to China by K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying and, therefore, dates from the first half of the third century A.D.⁶⁹ The only geographical information is that it was beyond Tun-sun on a *chou* in the Great Sea, but it was clearly a very wealthy gold-producing country. "There is a mountain which produces gold; the gold appears in the stone in immense quantities... In this country they do not receive foreign merchants; if any happen to come, they kill them also and eat them. So no trader ventures to go there". *P'i-ch'ien* was in communication with Fu-nan, often sending embassies and vessels of pure gold for fifty persons. This kingdom will be mentioned again in connection with Malayadvipa. The earliest archaeological evidence of Indianization in Sumatra is provided by the huge granite figure of Buddha, twelve feet high, which was discovered on Bukit Séguntang, near Palembang. A fragmentary stone statuette, also Buddhist, was discovered on the same hill, and higher up the river another stone Buddhist statue. But the dating of all these is too controversial for anything certain to be said, though it is likely that the first one may date within the period of this paper.⁷⁰

All the Indian scholars who have tried to identify the six sub-dvipas mentioned in Chapter 48 of the *Vayu-Purana* place them in the region known as *dvipantara*, though they do not agree on the identifications; and it seems to be clear that it is this region to which we must look. To this day people in Madras call the Malaysian region by the general name of *dipantara*, the Prakritic form. Kalidasa writes of ocean-going ships and merchants making sea-voyages for the purpose of commerce. He mentions the *dvipantara* and associates it with cloves. It is the general opinion that the ancient *dvipantara* indicates Malaysia and possibly also the mainland of Indo-China. The word itself means 'island-continent beyond' and thus indicates a region overseas. Of the six sub-dvipas, Malayadvipa receives the most detailed description. Many have taken it to indicate the Malay Peninsula, but the late Professor Ramachandra Dikshitar identified it with Sumatra,⁷¹ and this, it is submitted, is the only identification which will answer to the facts. Malayadvipa "has mines of precious stones and gold, besides sandalwood and ocean mines. It is full of groups of Mlecchas and has many rivers and hills." Its *Kulaparvata*, 'chief mountain', is Malaya "and contains silver mines. The noble mountain is reported as the Mahamalaya. A second mountain (is there) Mandara by name, a beautiful hill with flowers and fruits resorted to by *devarsis* (divine sages). There is the venerable abode of Agastya revered by *devas* and *asuras*". There was another mountain called *Kancapada* in Professor Nilakanta Sastri's translation but given as *Kancanapada* by Professor Ramachandra Dikshitar.⁷² This was a holy hermitage rich in kusa grass and soma, a veritable Paradise, in every *parva* (part) of which Heaven is said to descend. "In the same way there is the *Trikuta nilaya*, in height many *yojanas* and full of charming caves and

69. For English translation see G.H. Luce, "Countries neighbouring Burma", *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon, 1925), vol. 14, pt. 2, pp. 148-149.

70. See discussion by Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-5.

71. *Some Aspects of the Vayu Purana* (1933), p. 50.

72. *The Purana Index*, vol. 1, p. 344.

crests. On its top is the great city of Lanka with palatial buildings, ever contented and prosperous. Its area is 100 by 30 yojanas. It is the residence of great Raksasas who can assume different disguises and who were defiant enemies of the devas. It is inaccessible to ordinary human beings. In front of that dvipa and on the shore of the sea, there is a great Siva temple known as Gokarna".

It is clear that in this description there is a large transference of names from ancient India. Colonists have always had the habit of transferring names from their own home-lands to their new settlements and the ancient Indians were no exception. Nearly all their place-names in South-East Asia have counterparts in ancient India. The Malaya Mountain of Kalidasa was composed of the Anamalai and Elamalai mountains, still known as the Malaya Range. These mountains form the southern part of the Western Ghats from the Palghat Gap to Cape Comorin. Malayalam, 'land at the foot of the mountain', is the name for the narrow plain along the Malabar coast. It is the country of the Nair caste and is called *Kerala* by Kalidasa and the *Vayu Purana*. *Kerala* is another form of *Chera*, one of the three great Tamil kingdoms, the others being *Chola* and *Pandya*. The language called Malayalam is a comparatively new one and during the period of this paper Tamil was spoken in Kerala.^{72a} Our name Malabar comes from the Arabic *Malaya-bar*, which in turn derives from the Sanskrit *Malaya-vara*, 'mountain country', Tamil *Malai-nadu*. Malayadvipa means 'mountain island-continent', and, if the name Malaya was transferred, as is suggested, from Malabar to Sumatra, nothing could be more natural. When one passes out of what used to be British India into Cochin and Travancore, it is as if one had entered Sumatra. The mountains, the flora and the general landscape, with the saddle-backed roofs to houses and bullock-carts make the illusion almost complete. The topographical resemblance of the Malabar coast to the west coast of Sumatra is equally remarkable. Right down the Malabar coast, and never very far from the sea, there runs the chain of the Western Ghats, broken only by the remarkable Palghat Gap, some sixteen miles in width, through which there is land passage to the Carnatic plain and the Coromandel coast. These Ghats in their entirety run for 1,000 miles from the Konkan coast to Cape Comorin. Right down the west coast of Sumatra there runs a chain of mountain ranges, never very far from the sea, and broken by a remarkable medial trough, not more than twenty miles wide, through which there is land passage to the east coast of Sumatra. From or near the two sets of mountains three historically important rivers flow to the east—in India, the Krishna, the Godavari, and the Kaveri; in Sumatra, the Kampar, the Jambi, and the Palembang or Ayer Musi. Since the name Malaya first appears in Sumatra, and since Malay traditional history in the *Sejarah Melayu* starts in Sumatra, we must look to that island as the home of the name, and it is perfectly rational to derive it from Sanskrit *malaya*, Tamil *malai*. Indeed, no other derivation has ever been suggested.

Where, then, did the ancient Indians first intrude into Sumatra? And from where did they come? The archaeology of South-East Asia has not yet emerged from the exploratory stage. If there is archaeological evidence for anything, so much the better; but, if there is not, reasoning *ex silentio*, always dangerous anywhere, is quite out of place where this region is concerned. On the other hand, reasoning *a priori* is both useful and essential, provided that it is not allowed to obsess the mind. Sumatra presents the most unusual characteristic that its centres of civilization and its most heavily populated districts are not upon the coast but lie inland, principally in the highlands. This is the natural result of the physiography of the island. The east coast from Tanjongbalai southwards,

72a. Until the tenth century A.D. See K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *HCIP.*, vol. 2, p. 289.

in the words of Professor Dobby,⁷⁵ is "a forest-covered swamp" and "an obstacle to settlement and approach from the east, sparsely inhabited and undeveloped, the largest and most continuous example of Southeast Asia equatorial swamp still beyond the control of human technology." Wet padi planting is confined to a few deltaic embayments on the Achin coast, and in the upper valleys of the Ayer Musi and the Batang Hari on the flanks of Korinchi "as vestiges of the prosperous principalities of the first millennium when Indian colonisation reached its peak."⁷⁶ The seaboard of the east coast is flanked by low-lying swamps and swampy islands without landmarks, and only the regions of Palembang and Jambi have any ancient history. The former lies about fifty miles up the Ayer Musi and the latter about eighty-five miles up the Jambi River. The history of each begins in the seventh century A.D. By far the largest portion of the population are the Minangkabau, who are distributed from the middle of the island to the west coast; there is more intensive settlement in the Padang highlands than anywhere else; and there is fairly dense settlement in the Batak highlands.

The depictions which we possess of ancient commercial sailing vessels—Greek, Roman, Phoenician, Persian and Indian—show that none of them could have sailed against the wind. The Periplus, the Chinese records and the Arab ones show that they used only the favouring monsoons and land breezes. We know, fortunately, what an Indian commercial ship of the second century A.D. looked like, since it is depicted upon the coins of the Andhra King, Yajna Satakarni, c.A.D. 170-199. She is roomy and round-hulled with two tall masts carrying large, square sails suspended from a yard at the top of the mast, and could not have sailed against the wind. The same type of ship appears on Pallava coins some centuries later, but no sails are shown on these.⁷⁷ The Malabar coast was the scene of a most active sea-trade during the early centuries of the Christian era and was more handy for sailing down to the west coast of Sumatra than was the Coromandel coast. The voyage by the outer route in the open sea westward of the islands, though requiring navigational care, was suitable for the coastal voyaging which the ancient seamen preferred. The little port of Sibolga lies in a cove at the north-eastern end of Tapanuli Bay, where there is the best and most sheltered anchorage north of Padang. Tanjong Batu Buro, at the northern entrance to the Bay, is a mark of considerable height, and Lake Toba, the heart of the Batak country, lies behind the Bay with easy land passage to it from Sibolga. Padang possesses in its Road the best and most sheltered anchorage on the west coast, marked by Mount Talang, 8,520 ft. high, and Padang Hill, 1,056 ft. It would have been an excellent anchorage for the ancient Indian ships, though not suitable for modern needs. There is easy access by land from Padang into the Padang highlands and to Bukit Tinggi (Fort de Kock), the real cradle of the Minangkabau people.

Upon *a priori* reasoning, therefore, Sibolga and Padang would be the points from which Indian intrusion into Sumatra came, and the Malabar coast would be the place from which the intruders sailed. The Minangkabau have a general tradition that their parent stock came from South India and landed upon the west coast of Sumatra, and they have a system of mother-right which is foreign to Malay life in general and suggests outside influence from a people such as the matriarchal Nairs of the Malabar coast.

75. *Southeast Asia* (London, 1950), pp. 198-9.

76. *Ibid.* pp. 210-1.

77. For reproductions of these Andhra and Pallava ships see Schoff, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

Turning now to the description of Malayadvipa, it should be noted first that Agastya was the patron saint of Tamil civilization.⁷⁸ His name is preserved in that of the mountain which Kalidasa called *Agastakuta* and which is known today as Agastya Malai. This is the southern peak of the Anamalai mountains, about twenty miles north-eastward of Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore. The sacred river *Tamraparni* had its source on this mountain and has the local name today of Tambravarni. It discharges into the Gulf of Mannar and was famous from very ancient times for its pearl fisheries. The legendary cradle of Tamil civilization lay on the Tamraparni River at Korkai (the *Kolchoi* of the Periplus and Ptolemy), which was the traditional home of the three eponymous brothers Pandiyan, Solan and Ceran, the founders of the three great Tamil nations and kingdoms, Pandya, Chola and Chera. These brothers find their places in the strange genealogies of the Sejarah Malayu as Raja Pandyan, Raja Chulan and Raja Jiran. The tradition recorded in ancient Indian literature, and particularly in Tamil, says that Agastya left India and travelled far south, so that in the Puranas the emphasis with regard to him shifts overseas and the Vayu Purana places his venerable abode (*asrama*) on the Mandara Mountain in Malayadvipa. Inscriptions prove that the cult of Agastya was a remarkable feature in South-East Asia, and that it took deep root in Sumatra, Java and Bali.

Mandara was a mountain famed in Indian mythology and sacred to Siva, who went there after spending his honeymoon on Mount Meru. *Trikuta* means 'three peaked' and *nilaya* 'home'. Kalidasa records that King Raghu conquered Kerala at Trikuta and that its three peaks served as the pillars of victory. It has been plausibly identified as a hill to the west of Nasik. *Gokarna* is mentioned by Kalidasa, and was a celebrated place of pilgrimage. It is identified with Gendia in North Kanara, some thirty miles south of Goa, and there is a famed temple of Siva at Gendia. Gokarnasramin was a deity who was supposed to dwell on the summit of Mahendra Mountain, that is to say the Eastern Ghats. The writer has found no counterpart in ancient India for Kancapada or Kancanapada, but *kusa* grass (*Poa cynosuroides*) is a special grass used by the Brahman caste for worship, for example, on New Moon days, and Brahman sages, when contemplating God, sit upon a mat made from kusa grass. The juice of the soma plant was the favourite drink of the gods. In the Vedas, Mlecchas were indigenous people of barbarian tongue who seem to have been friendly to the Aryas when they invaded India, and the name came to be applied to all friendly indigenous peoples. The Raksasas were most unfriendly and the Ramayana tells of the great war in which Rama, King of the Aryas, conquered Ravana, King of the Raksasas, whose capital was *Lanka*. The *yojana* was a land-measure of uncertain distance, usually stated as a league; but in verse composition such as the Vayu Purana must not be treated literally.

Reading between the lines of the description of Malayadvipa, one gets the impression that the Indians found two types of indigenous peoples in the place. There were those with whom they were able to mingle, and to these they applied the name Mlecchas. There were those who stayed in their high fastnesses, would not allow the Indians into their country, and rejected the Indian gods. To these the Indians gave the name Raksasas and the name of Lanka to their capital. There is very general agreement with the view of Professor Heine-Geldern that Hindu-Sumatran culture took birth at the very latest during the second century A.D., and, if evidence can be adduced from Sumatra whereby the Trikuta nilaya

78. See K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, "Agastya," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, etc.* (Batavia, 1936), vol. 76, no. 4, pp. 471-545 and *A History of South India* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 66-74.

can be identified, the rest of the description of *Malayadvipa*, will fall into place. This evidence, however, needs some introduction.

It is certain that when the Indians first came to Malaysia and Indo-China they found in existence at various places culture-groups of the same basic type, for the over-all pattern of which 'Indonesian civilization' is a convenient description, though no form of writing used by these groups has been discovered. This civilization reached its peak during the period of bronze culture called Dong-s'on. The 'Indonesian civilization' was accompanied throughout by the practice of the megalithic cult, and the most remarkable feature of its Dong-s'on phase was the use of bronze drums, considered as cult objects with supernatural powers, like the gongs still in use amongst certain ethnic groups in northern Annam and Tongking. During the best period of the Dong-s'on culture the drums bear depictions of human and religious scenes from which scholars have been able to build some picture of the final phase of the 'Indonesian civilization' and to point to some affinities with the manners and customs of the Dayaks in Borneo. Though the exact period of the Dong-s'on culture cannot be fixed, it is agreed provisionally at present that in its homeland on the mainland of Indo-China it began in the fourth or third century B.C. and lasted to about the end of the Later Han dynasty.

The name Minangkabau, which the late Professor Van der Tuuk considered to mean 'original home', was recorded first in A.D. 1365, and it is considered that at that time it was commensurate with the kingdom of Malayu which stretched from the Padang Highlands south through Korinchi and east beyond Jambi. The Sultanate of Minangkabau was founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., when its ruler became converted to the Muslim faith.

The sacred Gunong Dempo with its twin peaks, Lumut and Merapi, rises 10,364 ft. half-way along the plateau of Pasemah, and on that plateau there is a most important group of megalithic monuments with menhirs, dolmens, stone troughs, slab-graves, terrace buildings and stone images. These last show two distinctly different styles, a primitive and indigenous one and a later more evolved one with statues of single figures and groups. This later style is thought to derive from some colonizing movements from the mainland of south-eastern Asia between 200 and 100 B.C. It is clear that the Dong-s'on phase of the 'Indonesian civilization' was present in the Pasemah culture. Amongst the sculptures there is a stone representation of a Dong-s'on bronze drum, and on the Danau Gadang tea-estate near Korinchi Lake there was found a full-sized bronze drum of the type shown in the stone sculpture, while two more such drums were found in the Lampong country further south. A sea-trade with the mainland of Indo-China is proved by these bronze drums and also by finds of Han dynasty artifacts (including bronze ones) in southern Sumatra, on the borders between the Jambi and Korinchi countries, on the Danau Gadang estate, and on the borders of the Korinchi country where the most remarkable of all was found—a piece of a vase bearing the stamp of a Chinese date corresponding to 45 B.C. It is not possible to say exactly when the Pasemah culture passed out of existence but it seems safe to say upon the archaeological evidence that it was still flourishing during the first two or three centuries A.D. The warriors and the fierce human types represented in the more evolved sculptures would be just the kind to attract to themselves the name of Raksasa from the early Indians. The whole evidence taken together shows that the Pasemah people were warlike and prosperous. The three-peaked Dempo and the Pasemah plateau answer to Trikota nilaya, and the remains of structures on the plateau with the sculptures answer to the great city of Lanka. Furthermore, the name Lanka plays a considerable part in old

Malay tradition and has a marked connection with Sumatra. A Sultan of Minangkabau during the eighteenth century A.D. stated in a letter that God sent a speaking-bird named Hocinet to look for a spot on which an inheritance might be established and "the first place he alighted upon was the fertile island of Lankapura, situated between Palembang and Jambi, and from there sprung the famous Kingdom of Manancabow."^{78a} Thus, the city (*pura*) of Lanka lingered through the centuries in Sumatran traditional memory.

But the strangest thing of all is that the ability of the Raksasas to assume different disguises, though a belief concerning them in ancient India, has a remarkable explanation for this part of Sumatra, which can be stated best in the words of that eminent Malayan authority, the late Mr. R.J. Wilkinson:⁷⁹ "If we ask a Peninsular Malay what he calls a were-tiger he will tell us *kēmëring* or (Upper Perak) *chënaku*; he will insist also that all Korinchi Malays were were-tigers and can assume tiger-shape whenever they like and for as long as they like. A Sumatran (Minangkabau) Malay calls a were-tiger *chindaku*. Now it is a curious fact that Kēmëring (or Komeriing), Korinchi and Chënaku (or Chindaku) are all Sumatran districts and are the part of Sumatra linked most closely with the megalithic civilization that produced these slab-graves. The Han bronze weapons which help to date this culture were found in the Komeriing or Kēmëring valley; the finest slab-grave of all is in the Pasemah country to which the Kēmëring gives access; the Han-dated vase was found on the borders of the Korinchi country; and the bronze gong and many other relics found on the Danau Gadang tea-estate are all from the Korinchi country. About Chindaku I know less."

With the Trikuta nilaya identified as Gunong Dempo and the Pasemah plateau, the Malaya Mountain will be the southern two-thirds of the Sumatran mountain chain which is called the Barisan Range, and Mahamalaya will be Korinchi, 12,484 ft., the highest mountain in Sumatra. Where then will the Mandara Mountain be located? The holy place of Malay and Minangkabau tradition is Bukit Sëguntang, called Siguntang-guntang locally, a hill near Palembang, with which the Kings of Srivijaya were closely associated as their inscriptions of the seventh century A.D. show, and which was the cause of these kings being known to the Arabs as the Maharajahs of the Mountain. Adoration of the mountain was as strongly imbedded in the 'Indonesian civilization' as was the megalithic cult; and the mountain still plays its part in Malay thought.⁸⁰ The antiquity of Bukit Sëguntang as a holy place is attested by the Buddhist statuary found upon it, of which the huge granite figure of Buddha is the most ancient. This figure is made unique by its size and, because of that unique size, seems to emphasize the peculiar veneration of the people for the hill upon which they erected it. This hill appears in the *Sejarah Melayu* as Bukit Si-Guntang Mahameru and is the scene of the appearance of three Indian princes, one of whom becomes Raja of Palembang with the consent of the local 'Indonesian' chieftain Broad Leaf, who abdicates in his favour. There cannot be the slightest doubt that this tradition is in reality that of the founding of the Kingdom of Srivijaya, the history of which begins in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. The range of opinion with regard to the dating of the granite Buddha places it not later than the fifth or sixth century A.D., and the antiquity of Bukit Sëguntang as a holy place is thus carried back for nearly two centuries before it became the

78a. W. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra* (London, 1811), pp. 338-40: here *pulau* is translated as 'island'; but, as has been noted above, it had a wider meaning in Sumatra.

79. "The Bernam Slab-Graves", *JMBRAS.*, vol. 17, pt. 1 (1939), pp. 136-7.

80. W. Linehan, "Tin Emblems of Mountain-Temples (Gunong-Gunong)", *JMBRAS.*, vol. 24, pt. 3 (1951), pp. 99-103; R. Winstedt, *The Malays* (London, 1950), pp. 66-9.

Mountain of the Kings of Srivijaya. It can be identified with the holy mountain Mandara of Malayadvipa accordingly. For Kancapada or Kancanapada, no more can be said except that it might have indicated some hill region beyond Bukit Seguntang. The Siva temple known as Gokarna, which was opposite Malayadvipa and on the shore, will be a place in the ancient Indian settlement of Kedah.

Both gold and silver were mined in Sumatra during the Dutch regime and the references to those metals in Malayadvipa are appropriate to the proposed identification. The Portuguese noted in the sixteenth century A.D. that Minangkabau was the best gold area in Sumatra. The curious expression 'ocean mines' occurs in other ancient Indian contexts but does not seem to have been explained by any Indian scholar. There are regions in Malaysia where grains of alluvial gold are to be found in the sands along the sea-shore. Eredia in the seventeenth century A.D. mentioned that he had seen Malays sifting the sands along the shore north of Malacca Fort and getting gold,⁸¹ and to the writer's personal knowledge this could still be done at low tide twenty years ago. Sumatra is *par excellence* the gold island of Malaysia. Its Malay name is Pulau Mas, 'gold island'; in the seventh century A.D. the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim I-Ching, called it *Chin-chou*, 'gold island'; and Suvarnadvipa, a Sanskrit name for it, has the same meaning. Indian scholars unfortunately do not seem to be interested in historical geography and it is, therefore, not easy to trace the antiquity of the old Indian place-names or their subsequent history; but, apparently, it is not until Somadeva's *Katha-sarit-sagara* of the eleventh century A.D. that Suvarnadvipa is made clearly to apply to Sumatra; and that name therefore does not militate against the identification of the earlier Malayadvipa as Sumatra.

The high table-lands of western Sumatra have been suggested above as the scene of the earliest Indian penetration into the island and, upon the assumption that Malayadvipa was Sumatra, it would appear that during the period to which Chapter 48 of the Vayu Purana must be ascribed the Indians had been able to mingle with the groups of people whom they called Mleccha but not with those whom they called Raksasa. It has been suggested that the latter were the mountain-people in the Pasemah country, who were clearly 'Indonesian' in civilization. Who then were the former? The whole story of Indianization, where it can be traced with certainty, is one of acceptance by 'Indonesians' of the Indian civilization. We find a continuance of pre-Hindu 'Indonesian' beliefs during the period of Indianization and even vestiges of them existing to this very day, as Sir Richard Winstedt has emphasized so aptly.⁸² He draws attention to the shamanism of 'Indonesian' peoples and the way in which ideas connected with the 'Indonesian' magician ruler are still to be found in Malay and Minangkabau conceptions of royalty. The present Batak region in Sumatra is contained within the parallels of 4°N and 1°50'N. The point of ingress into it is Tapanuli Bay and, if Indian penetration into Sumatra came from the west coast of the island, this bay, which is the first fully sheltered anchorage to be reached from India, can be assumed to have been the earliest point of penetration. Lake Toba, the heart-land of the Bataks, lies to the north-east of this bay with the Karo Mountains immediately to the north of the lake. The other most important Batak region, the district of Padang Lawas, lies parallel with Tapanuli Bay but much further inland to the east. The Batak country continues in the south to the regions of the Natal tribes and the Great and Little Mandailing tribes, all of whom have been influenced very much by the Minangkabau to their south. We have no

81. J.V. Mills, "Eredia's Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay", *JMBRAS.*, vol. 8 (1930), p. 233.

82. *The Malays* (London, 1950); *The Malay Magician* (London, 1951).

means of knowing exactly what the ancestors of the Bataks were like, but they would appear to have been 'Indonesians' who received Indianization, and so to have followed the general pattern. When the Bataks were conquered by the Dutch in 1907, they were headed by a divine chieftain known as the Singa Maharadja, who appears to have held no temporal power but to have been a master priest or magician king.⁸³ The similarity between the houses of the Toba Bataks and those depicted upon a Dong-s'on drum has been remarked, together with the same resemblance in the case of Minangkabau houses.⁸⁴ Professor Cole says in regard to Batak religious beliefs, "Direct questioning usually leads to high beings bearing Sanskrit names. They are considered powerful and enough interested in human affairs to appear at times in the ceremonies or sacrifices, but in general they are remote from everyday affairs. Among them is a creator, a trinity, and a lesser group classed together under the term *debata*:"⁸⁵ and of these last one is the Demon Huntsman, who is known to the Proto-Malay Jakuns of the Peninsula, and another is the Naga, who as Sessa, the thousand-hooded cobra, formed the couch of Vishnu. Even the Buddha himself became a Naga. There is thus clear evidence from Batak religious beliefs of an 'Indonesian' substratum and an Indian overlay. More than sixty years ago Kern drew attention to the five sub-divisions of the Simbirings tribe of Karo Bataks, namely, Choliya, Pandiya, Meliyala, Depari, and Pelawi, in which he recognized the South Indian names of Chola, Pandya, Malayalam, and Pallava. Depari still remains a mystery. The Kéling, that is, South Indian, origin of the Simbirings is recognized as a fact by all the other Karo Bataks.

Enough has been shown, therefore, to prove a strong Indianization at one time amongst the ancestors of the Bataks, who were fundamentally 'Indonesian'. It will be appreciated that this term 'Indonesian' is used in a very loose sense and merely as one of convenience. In point of fact, there is no agreement among anthropologists as to what the term means or to what physical groups it should be applied, and it is often used as though it were the same as 'Proto Malay' or 'Pre-Malay'. In the present state of knowledge it is impossible to define what exactly an 'Indonesian' is either physically or culturally. But what does seem to emerge is that Indianization in Malaysia and Indo-China was accepted by various culture-groups amongst whom there was a general pattern of similarity, and the term 'Indonesian' is applied in this paper to any peoples or tribes who can be said to fall within that general pattern, even though not exactly within it. The early Chinese records into T'ang times recognize this general similarity of pattern in the South Sea and call it K'un-lun, speaking of K'un-lun slaves, K'un-lun country, K'un-lun people, K'un-lun language and K'un-lun ships.

If the Raksasas of Malayadvipa were the people of the Pasemah plateau, the people of the Batak highlands would be among the Mlecchas; and, if these interpretations are correct, Chapter 48 of the Vayu Purana shows that Indianization in Sumatra began in the northern half of the island and reached the southern half later. If Professor Heine-Geldern's view is accepted that Hindu-Sumatran culture took birth at the very latest during the second century A.D., that date can be applied to the Indianization in the northern half of the island. But, if Malayadvipa is accepted as having indicated Sumatra, that date cannot be applied to the southern half in view of the statements about the Raksasas, provided

83. Fay-Cooper Cole, *The peoples of Malaysia* (New York, 1945), pp. 271-4.

84. Winstedt, *The Malays*, p. 162.

85. Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-5.

that they were the Pasemah people. There cannot be any possible doubt that these Pasemah people fell fully and properly within the orbit of the 'Indonesian civilization' and that its Dong-s'on phase was present among them, nor can there be any possible doubt that the Dong-s'on phase was present also in the much wider area which has been stated above. The presence of Dong-s'on bronze drums and of Han objects in this wider area is definite proof of a sea-trade with Indo-China and the question arises, "Who conducted this sea-trade?" Here the identification, if possible, of P'i-ch'ien becomes very relevant, because the Chinese evidence proves that Chinese shipping itself did not trade into the South Sea during the period covered by this paper. On the other hand, there is a description of K'un-lun shipping which appears to date back to the third century A.D.,⁸⁷ which is the period of the facts concerning P'i-ch'ien. Communication between P'i-ch'ien and Fu-nan must have been by sea, and the jealousy displayed by P'i-ch'ien against the intrusion of foreign merchants is completely in keeping with what we know about other ancient peoples whose prosperity came from their sea-trade. The identification of P'i-ch'ien will be approached accordingly upon the *a priori* presumption that it was a state with a seaboard and engaged in a sea-trade with the Indo-Chinese mainland.

The account of P'i-ch'ien⁸⁸ was carried back to China in the third century A.D. by the Chinese envoys K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying together with the account of Tun-sun and appears in the Liang Shu as an appendage to the latter account. The only key to the location of P'i-ch'ien is provided by two master facts: (1) it was rich in gold; (2) it was beyond Tun-sun on an island (*chou*) in the Great Sea. With Tun-sun identified as the northern part, if not the whole, of the Malay Peninsula, the only identification of P'i-ch'ien which will fit the two master facts is Sumatra, and the statement that it was in the Great Sea does not militate against that identification. It is true that eventually the 'Great Sea' becomes clear as having been the South China Sea as far south as the Straits of Malacca, but the account of Tun-sun makes it clear that at that time (the third century A.D.) the bounds of the Great Sea were not known. According to the Chinese envoys no ship had ever travelled over it and to them, therefore, the Great Sea was merely a generic name for the whole unknown ocean expanse, part of which washed the shores of Fu-nan and doubtless the rest of the Indo-Chinese seaboard to the Gulf of Tongking.

The account of the King of P'i-ch'ien is worthy of notice. He was supernatural and holy, and had not died from ancient times, so that no one knew his age. "The good and bad actions of the people of his kingdom, the things of the future—there is not one of which the king is not aware. Thus no one dares to impose on him. In the kingdoms of the south they call him the Long-Necked King . . . his sons and grandsons are born and die like ordinary men; the king alone does not die." Here we seem to have an attempt to describe an 'Indonesian' master-priest or magician king, whose office was immortal though its occupants lived and died. It is stated in the account that the king knew how to write Indian books and an attempt is made to explain one such book. This, however, is not evidence that P'i-ch'ien was Indianized. On the contrary, the effect of the account is to show that it was not, because foreign traders were not allowed to enter the country and the kingly office was not Indianized but 'Indonesian' in character. His knowledge of Indian writing might well have been acquired for the purpose of his relations with the highly Indianized kingdom of Fu-nan.

87. P. Pelliot, "Quelques Textes Chinois concernant l'Indo-Chine Hindouisée", *Etudes Asiatiques*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1925), pp. 243-63.

88. See p. 11, footnote 69, above.

According to the tradition preserved in the Sejarah Malayu, Palembang was an 'Indonesian' state at the time when the three Indian princes arrived and the four seventh century inscriptions of Srivijaya show clearly that the 'Indonesian' organization was retained, because the outer districts were governed by *datus*, an office unknown to India but fundamentally an 'Indonesian' one. It is not impossible that P'i-ch'ien should be looked for in the Palembang region, that this region gradually received Indian influences and that Buddhism became implanted there at some time prior to the erection of the huge granite Buddha on Bukit Séguntang, which was not later than the fifth or sixth century A.D. It must not be assumed that all the facts in Chapter 48 of the Vayu Purana are exactly contemporaneous. If the Mandara mountain were Bukit Seguntang, it would mean that by some time towards A.D. 400 the people of the Palembang region had become Mlecchas; and the passage about the Gokarna temple, if that were in Kedah, would be more or less synchronous. But the prehistory of Sumatra has not yet been worked out in time periods, nor has that of Kedah.

The purpose of this paper is to provoke thought and, though its content is speculative, it is none the worse for that. The following words of the American Professor Hyde⁸⁹ form an apt quotation with which to conclude: "In cases of this kind where the evidence is meager it is well to remember that what is at issue is not a point of exact law, but an event of history, a field in which absolute truth is unattainable and interpretation must ordinarily resort to a certain amount of surmise." If any satisfactory picture of ancient times in Malaysia is ever to be drawn, it will only be by taking a broad common-sense view of the wood and applying reasonable surmise to the available facts, but most assuredly not by an academic agitation concerning the leaves, branches and trunks of the trees.

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89. W.W. Hyde, *Ancient Greek Mariners* (New York, 1947) p. 239.

THE MALAY PENINSULA AS KNOWN TO THE ARAB GEOGRAPHERS

By G. R. TIBBETTS

Part I: Before A.D. 1450

In the following pages I have attempted to extract all the valuable information relating to the Malay Peninsula from the texts of the early Arab geographers and travellers. For a long time scholars were puzzled by the jumble of names given by these authors to places in the Indian Ocean, and it was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that certain names were discovered to be genuine places in the East Indies. Comparing these names with those from Chinese and Indian sources, it was possible to find Chinese and Indian equivalents for some of them. Even then, identification with any fixed site was extremely difficult because very few of these names bear any resemblance to present-day place-names, or even to places found in the early Malay histories. It is rather astonishing to see a detailed list of Malay place-names given in the *Nagarakrtagama*, a Javanese epic poem dated about A.D. 1365. The majority of them are in existence today, whereas the names mentioned by Ibn Battūta, dating only a few years earlier, have no equivalents at all, still less the place-names given by the earlier geographers.

The majority of attempts to identify the place-names of the Arabic texts have been made by scholars who have specialized in Chinese or Indian studies. These have all failed to realize the pitfalls of Arab geographical works. They have taken transliterations and translations as they have found them and have attempted to adapt them to help their own theories. Gerini, who carried out researches on Ptolemy's Far-Eastern nomenclature, was adept at this, and in one case used two different renderings of the same place (*Tiyumah*), placing them in two different parts of the Archipelago near modern places whose names were similar to the particular renderings used.

Gabriel Ferrand was the first scholar with a knowledge of Arabic and an interest in South-East Asia to tackle the problem. It is a pity that he did not finish the third volume of his monumental work, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, which was to have dealt with all the tricky problems of Malayan historical topography. But Ferrand was committed to a system of philological comparison. His introduction to the above work is full of examples showing just what each Arabic letter represented when applied to a Chinese, Malay or Indian word. He overlooked the fact that most of these tales of the Far East were brought back by sailors, many of them illiterate. The place-names with which they returned were picked up by hearsay from a strange tongue, and some may not have even been place-names. It is doubtful whether any philological rules can be applied to any of these place-names.

When dealing with the Arabic texts, there are two facts which if not taken into account will lead to error. The first is the inadequacy of the Arabic script for rendering foreign words, and the second is the authenticity of the text. The Arabs are incapable of pronouncing the consonants *g*, *p*, *v*, or *ch*, and the Persians cannot manage *w*. Ferrand has dealt with this problem, but it is not the most

important, for the Arabs have always been able to produce other sounds something like the missing ones. The real problem is trying to find from the script how the Arab travellers pronounced certain combinations of letters. The Arabic script, besides having no vowels, has a great many consonants written alike except for a series of dots known as diacritical points. In early MSS it was the custom to omit as many of these points as possible. In the case of proper names it is possible that the original author jotted down the correct points for accuracy's sake, but after centuries of copying, these points have either been lost or inaccurately copied, so that in different MSS of the same work we can get differences such as *Ma'it*, *Maqat*, *Mabat*, and *Tiyumah*, *Tanumah*, *Betumah*, etc.

The authenticity of the texts is a complex problem. None of the works is in an original state. All the MSS now in our possession have been copied several times and each copyist has left innumerable errors. In addition to copyists, almost all the works have been subjected to editors at various stages in their career. Finally it must be realised that few of the works were original in the first place and most were compilations of information with some fixed aim in view. Ibn Battūta's work is perhaps the only original work written by an Arab about any part of South-East Asia. His book was edited by Ibn Juzayy from scraps dictated by the author, and has since been through the hands of many copyists, if not of other editors.

Works with the title beginning '*Aja'ib* (Marvels) are anthologies of tales with a single theme, like Buzurg's '*Aja'ib al-Hind* (*The marvels of India*). The *Akhbar al-Sin wa'l-Hind* (*Information concerning China and India*, or simply *Tales about China and India*) is another work of the same sort, but with a more serious aspect. Works of the *al-Masalik wa'l-mamalik* type are the earliest examples of Arabic descriptive geography. They were meant originally as guide-books and information handbooks for directors of the postal services, and dealt specifically with the routes of the Muslim empire. Whenever a section on South-East Asia is added, it is for the sake of completeness, and usually consists of notices taken from seamen's tales, like those found in the '*Aja'ib* literature. The later geographers (roughly after A.D. 1,000) were mainly compilers, taking their material from all possible earlier sources, whether geographers, travellers or astronomers. Thus very little new information can be obtained after A.D. 1,000. What little new material there is has to be examined carefully. It is most likely earlier material taken from a lost source. The Arab literary world seems to have had no contact with South-East Asia after A.D. 1,000.

It is for this reason that I have divided the texts into three sections. First, I have grouped together all the texts that are primarily travellers' tales. Their object is either to tell a tale of travel (in our case in the Indian Ocean) or to give information about India directly from such tales. The texts used in this section are: *Kitab Akhbar al-Sin wa'l-Hind*, formerly attributed to a certain Sulaimān; its complement, *al-Kitab al-thani min Akhbar al-Sin wa'l-Hind* written by Abū Zaid b. Hasan al-Shirāfi; *Kitab 'aja'ib al-Hind* by Buzurg b. Shahriyār of Rāmhurmuz; the adventures of Sindbad in the *Thousand and one nights*; the travels of Abu Dulaf Mis'ar b. al-Muhalhil as given by Yāqūt in his geographical dictionary, *Mu'jam al-buldan*; and the travels of Ibn Battūta. According to some, Mas'udi is supposed to have travelled to China, and this fact would put his work into this category, but most of his remarks on South-East Asia can be traced to other sources.

Second I have grouped together all other authors writing before A.D. 1,000 in chronological order. This includes works of the *Masalik wa mamalik* type. All these authors write in a descriptive style, no attempt being made to introduce

longitudes and latitudes or any other scientific concepts. They copy profusely from one another and from predecessors, but in spite of that there is much new material.

The third group includes some of the more important later geographers, very few of whom show any originality. The pattern of geographical treatises became standardized, latitudes and longitudes were added, and the texts compared with maps. In the case of South-East Asia this led to hopeless confusion, as most of the scientific material was derived from Ptolemy via al-Kwārizmī and his successors. I have only added material from these later geographers when they have added something definite to our knowledge or when they have produced something relevant to the argument which follows.

I have had to limit myself to those places which I myself think may possibly be located in Malaya. In several places scholars are agreed that a place is on the Peninsula and in others they are not. The places mentioned are *Kalah*, *Qaqullab*, *Panbang*, *Sanfin*, *Ma'it* and *Tiyumab*. The last of these I have included because, when identified with Pulau Tioman, it is politically and geographically part of the Malay Peninsula. Several Arabic place-names can probably be identified as islands in the Riau Archipelago or in the Karimons, but I have not included those here. *Mul-Jawa* has been added because, although I disagree with them, many scholars have asserted that it was on the Peninsula. Also its story is connected with that of *Qaqullab*, and it is advisable to keep them together.

Under each place-name I have first placed the texts in the three groups labelled (1) travellers tales; (2) the early geographers; (3) Idrīsī and the later geographers. In the case of the shorter entries I have not divided them by headings, but have kept them in the same order as in the longer ones. After this comes the argument giving conclusions drawn from examination of the texts, followed by a note on similar names from the literatures of other nations and on conclusions reached by other scholars. Finally I have given a summary of the knowledge possessed by the Arab geographers of the Malay Peninsula, and of the light shed by them on our own knowledge of Malaya at that date.

The following is a list of the texts which I have thought worthy to be quoted together with references from the edition used:

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- ABU ZAID. Text given by Reinaud (See bibliography), tome 2, p. 90.
- ABU DULAF. From the *Mu'jam al-buldan* of Yaqut. *Jacut's geographisches Worterbuch*... hrsg. von F. Wustenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-70), tome 3, pp. 452-4.
- SINDBAD. From the text and translation by Langles in Savary's *Grammaire de la langue arabe* (Paris, 1813), pp. 499-500. But see note 10.
- BUZURG. *Kitab 'aja'ib al-Hind; Livre des merveilles de l'Inde par le capitaine Bozorg bin Sabriyar de Rambormoz*, trad. par Marcel Devic, texte arabe et notes par P. A. van der Lith (Leiden, 1883-6), pp. 67-9, 102, 126-7, 134, 176.
- IBN BATTUTA. Gibb's translation (see bibliography) has been used and references to it have been given in the notes.
- IBN KHURDADHBĪH. *Kitab al-masalik wa'l-mamalik, liber viarum et regnorum*.... edidit.... M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), p. 46.
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- IBN RUSTAH. From vol. 7 of *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum*, [ed. M. J. de Goeje] (Leiden, 1892), p. 88.
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- BAKUWI. Ferrand, G., *Relations de voyages*, pp. 463, 465.
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I. KALAH

(1) TRAVELLERS' TALES

- (i) *AKHBAR al-SIN wa'l-HIND*. Then [from the Nicobars, *Lanjabalus*] the ships set sail for a place called *Kalah-bar*,¹ the word *bar* meaning both kingdom and coast. It is a kingdom belonging to *al-Zabaj* and lies on the right of the land of India.² A king groups them all under his authority, and they are dressed in *futabs*.³ Both the nobles and the ordinary people are clothed only in one *futab*. They [the sailors] take on fresh water there from wells and they prefer the water of wells to that of springs and rain. The distance between *Kulam* [-malay],⁴ which is near *Harkand*, and *Kalah-bar* is a month.⁵ Then the ships travel to a place called *Tiyumah* which has fresh water for anyone who desires it, and the distance to it is ten days.
- (ii) *ABU ZAID*. The king of *al-Zabaj* (the Maharāja) counts among his possessions the island of *Kalah* which is situated midway between the land of China and the country of the Arabs. It is eighty *parasangs* in circumference. *Kalah*, is the centre of commerce for aloeswood, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, baqamwood,⁶ spices of all kinds and a host of objects too numerous to count. It is thither that the trading expeditions which start from Oman go, and from here trading expeditions start for the country of the Arabs.
- (iii) *ABU DULAF*. [After leaving *Sandabil* in China] I desired to go to *Kalah*. This is the beginning of India and the last place where one can obtain boats, for it is not possible for them to pass it without shipwreck. When I arrived at *Kalah*, I found it very great, with great walls, numerous gardens and abundant springs. I found there a tin mine such as does not exist in any other part of the world except in its *Qal'ah* (fortress). In this fortress they forge the *Qala'i* swords, which are the true Indian swords. The people of this fortress put themselves in a state of defence against their king when they wish to make him do what they wish. They have customs identical with those of China, and they do not practise the custom of cutting the throats (of animals before eating them).

1. Superior numbers refer to notes on pp. 45-6.

In the entire world there does not exist such a tin mine as the one in this *Qal'ab*. The [people] have a form of justice, prison and fines. They live on wheat, dates, vegetables, which are sold by weight, and flat cakes of bread, sold by quantity. They have no baths, but wash themselves in running water. Their *dirham* (silver coin) weighs two-thirds of an ordinary *dirham*, which is called a *fabri*. They have a little money, which they use for barter. They dress as the Chinese, in a single piece of cloth called 'Chinese firand',⁷ which is very dear. The king is a vassal of the king of China, and makes the *kbutba*⁸ in the name of the latter. The *qiblab*⁹ of the king of *Kalah* is orientated towards him, and the house of prayer of the king of *Kalah* is dedicated to the king of China.

Between the city and the city of China are 300 *parasangs* and around it are a succession of cities, towns and villages.

- (v) *SINDBAD* (*Fourth voyage*). From there [the island of *al-Naqus*] we went in six days to that of *Kalah*; then we entered the kingdom of *Kalah*. It is a great empire bordering on India, in which there are mines of tin, plantations of bamboo and excellent camphor. The king is a powerful ruler, and also governs the island of *al-Naqus*, in which there is a town also called *al-Naqus*, which is two days in extent.¹⁰
- (vi) *BUZURG*. All the people who inhabit *Fansur*, *Lamuri*, *Kalah*, *Qaqullab*, *Sanfin* and other neighbouring places are cannibals, but only eat their enemies out of vengeance and not because they need to. They cut the flesh into strips, then dry it and prepare it in various ways. Then they serve it up to eat with wine.

Sribuza which is situated at the extremity of the isle of *Lamuri* is 120 *zam* from *Kalah*. [See also under *Qaqullab*.]

(2) THE EARLY GEOGRAPHERS

- (i) *IBN KHURDADHBIH*. From *Lanjabalus* to the island of *Kilah* is six days. This island belongs to the kingdom of *Jabat al-Hindi*. It contains famous mines of *al-Qala'i* tin and plantations of bamboo. To the left and at two days from the island of *Kilah* is the island of *Balus*.
- (ii) *YA'QUBI*. The fourth sea [of the Indian Ocean] is called *Kalah-bar*, and it has little water. It has large serpents. Often the wind blows so strongly that the ships are broken. It contains islands where camphor trees are found.
- (iii) *IBN AL-FAQIH*. [Quotes the same source as the *Akhbar al-Sin*, but mentions bamboo as a product of the island.]
- (iv) *IBN RUSTAH*. Those who wish to go to *al-Zabaj* go east as far as *Kalah* and from there, the land of *al-Zabāj*.¹¹
- (v) *MAS'UDI*. *Muruj al-Dhahab* ... the kingdoms of the Maharāja, the king of the isles of *al-Zabaj*, *Kalah*, *Serendib* (Ceylon) ...

Around the countries of *Kalah* and *Sribuza* are mines of gold and silver.

Then he [the trader] went by sea to the land of *Killah* (i.e., *Kalah*) which is a little more than half way to China. Today this town is the general rendezvous of the Muslim ships of *Siraf* and *Oman*, where they meet the ships of China, but it was not so once ... this trader then embarked on a Chinese ship in order to go from *Killah* to China.

The fourth sea, as we have said, is that of *Kalah-bar*, that is the sea of *Kalah*. Like all seas which have little water, it is dangerous and difficult to navigate. One meets there many islands which sailors call *surr*,¹² in the plural *Sara'ir*, which is the point of junction between two straits or canals. [See also *Panbang*].

- (vi) *MUKHTASAR AL-'AJA'IB*. [Quotes Ibn Khurdādhbih and Abū Zaid, but adds] The island of *Kalah* is a large island inhabited by Indians, there are mines of tin and plantations of bamboo.
- (vii) *BIRUNI*. Mentions that the equator runs between *Kalah* and *Sribuza*.

(3) IDRISI AND THE LATER GEOGRAPHERS

- (i) *IDRISI*. [First says that it is six days from *Lanjabalus* to *Kalah* and then later states]... and it is five (days) from this last (i.e., the island of *Lanjabalus*) to the island of *Kalah*, which is very large and where there lives a king by the name of *Jabat al-Hindi*. There is a tin mine rich in tin. The metal is very pure and bright, but merchants adulterate it after its extraction from the mine and take it away to other places. The dress of the inhabitants is a *futab*; and is the same for men and women. The island produces rattan and excellent camphor. [Then follows a description of the extraction of camphor].
- (ii) *YAQUT*. *Mu'jam al-buldan*. The equator passes through the island of *Kalah*... a land at the extremity of India whence is exported aloeswood. Abu'l-'Abbas, the poet, to Saif al-Dawlah said:

She gives out a perfume as pungent as musk
 rolled in the fingers, or as *Kalabi* aloes.

It is also a port in the Indian Ocean midway between Oman and China, situated on the equator.
- (iii) *YAQUT*. *Marasid al-ittila'*. *Kalah* is a town on the edge of India and exports aloeswood.

al-Qal'ah is a lead mine. There is one in *Kalah*, which is the first country in India, on the edge of China.
- (iv) *YAQUT*. *al-Mushtarik*. *al-Qal'ah* is a country at the beginning of India, on the edge of China, where one gets *al-Qal'i* lead [i.e., tin] and *al-Qal'i* swords (He quotes from Abu Dulaf).
- (v) *QAZWINI*. [Adds nothing to our knowledge and quotes Abu Dulaf.]
- (vi) *IBN SA'ID*. In the south-east corner [of *Jawa*] is the town of *Kalah*, well known to travellers and renowned for its *al-Kalabi* tin. This town is situated at 154° 12' longitude.
- (vii) *DIMASHQI* [has a sea, an island and a town, which is the largest of the four towns on the island of the same name. He also says that the length of the island is 800 miles, the width 300, and that it contains the towns of *Fansur*, *al-Jawa*, *Malayur*, *Lawri*, and *Kala*. This is all copied from Ibn Sa'id, where it refers to the island of *Jawa*.

There are elephants, introduced from the continent, which are trained and dressed for the kings of the country. Followed by a long description of elephants].

- (viii) *ABU'L-FIDA*. After the *Qanun*¹³ and *al-Atwal*,¹⁴ the island of *Kalah* is 130° longitude and 8° latitude. It is to the south of the first climate, in the sea of India. It is the port of all the regions between Oman and China. Tin is exported from there, which bears its name. Muhallabi in his '*Azizi*'¹⁵ says, the isle of *Kalah* is in the sea of India. There is a prosperous town inhabited by Muslims, Indians and Persians. Mines of tin can be found there, with plantations of bamboo and camphor trees. Twenty *majra* separate it from the isles of the Maharāja.
- (ix) *BAKUWI*. *Kalāh* is a town of India... it is situated on the continent under the equator. [*Bakuwī* also has material given above under the heading of *Kalba*].
- (x) *OTHER TEXTS*. Ibn Serapion in *Traite de la nature des medicaments simples* [*vide Journal Asiatique*, 1846, p. 218-9] mentions camphor as a product of *Kalah*. Kharāqī in *Muntah al-idrak fī taqasim al-aflak* mentions 'the island of *Kalah* whence they export tin', (*vide Ferrand, Textes*, p. 171). Ibn al-Baitār quotes *Kalah* as a source of camphor in his *Jamī' mufradat*. Abū'l-Fazl 'Allāmī, in the third volume of his *Ain-i-Akbari*, gives the longitude of *Kalah* as 140° and the latitude as 8°.

The *Akhbar al-Sin wa'l-Hind*, the earliest Arab text available, shows *Kalah*—here called *Kalah bar* (*Kalah-vara*, Sauvaget)—as a stopping place on the way to China between *Kulam* [-malay] (or *Harkand* according to Sauvaget's reading of the text) and *Tiyumab* (which is taken as Pulau Tioman). Following the reading I have adopted above, *Kalah* is one month (thirty days) from *Kulam* (i.e., Quilon in South India), and ten days from *Tiyumab*; that is three-quarters of the way between the two places if similar sailing conditions are encountered on both voyages. The only other direct clue given in this text is that *Kalāh* was situated on the right of India. The term 'on the right' to an Arab usually means 'to the south'. This implies that the Arabs thought that *Kalah* was to the south of India. Did they regard the south-east as included in the term 'on the right'? 'India', to the Arab geographers and travellers, seems to have two senses, and one is never quite clear which one is meant in any context. First it means peninsular India (usually excepting the Punjab and the Indus valley, but occasionally including these). Secondly it can mean Greater India, or that area of Asia influenced by Hindu culture. Hence Ibn Khurdādhbih counts the ruler of *al-Zabaj* (*Sri-Vijayan empire*)¹⁶ as a ruler of India. Now *Kalah*, if on the Malay peninsula as has been assumed, is hardly south of *al-Zabaj*, although it could be regarded as south of Bengal. To be south of *al-Zabaj* one would expect to find it in south Sumatra, which is of course where Ibn Sa'id puts it. Another way of looking at this phrase, although not directly understood from the text, is that it means on the right of the route coming from the land of India, which, if the Arabs sailed through the Straits of Malacca, would again place *Kalah* on the island of Sumatra. I prefer to take the phrase loosely and interpret it to mean "in a general south or south-easterly direction from the Indian peninsula". Another similar problem is set by Ibn Khurdādhbih, who, when speaking of the route from India to *Kalah*, states that to the left (here presumably of the route) lies the island of *Balus* (Baros on the west coast of Sumatra). This would again place *Kalah* in south Sumatra, but this text is quoted in the *Mukhtasar al-'aja'ib* (A.D. 1,000), which changes this word and puts *Balus* on the right of the route, which is more logical if we wish to place *Kalah* on the Malay Peninsula.

Abu Zaid adds the curious information that the circumference of the island of *Kalah* is eighty *parasangs*. A *parasang* is from three to three-and-a-half miles,

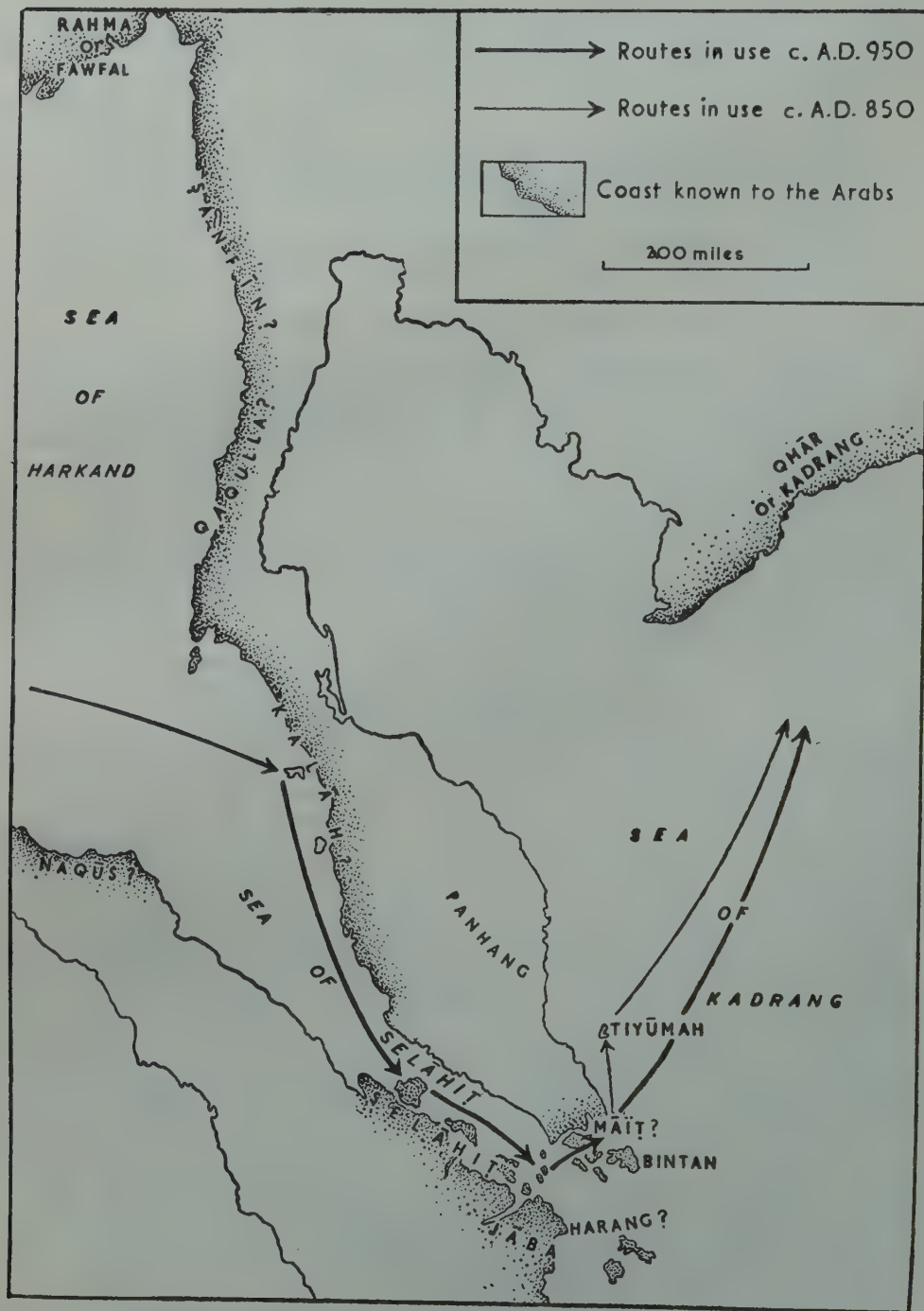


Fig. 1. The Malay Peninsula as known to the Arabs A.D. 850-1000.

Therefore, a maximum circumference for *Kalah* is 280 miles, which one would expect to be the distance a ship would have to sail to go round it. Therefore one would expect *Kalah* to rank in size somewhere between Bangka and Billiton, or perhaps the size of present-day Kedah.

Abū Dulaf shows it to be a centre of civilization, and puts it at three hundred *parasangs* (1,050 miles) from the city of China. (This is presumably *Sandabil*, called by Abu Dulāf elsewhere the capital of China; it has been identified with Kansu). However, this is obviously a very round figure, for a thousand miles from Canton, the most southerly port of China, leaves one still off the coast of Indo-China.

Sindbad's account (*Thousand and One Nights*) also mentions a great empire and gives a distance of six days from the island of *al-Naqus*, which may be the Nicobars (usually called by the Arabs *Lanjabalus* or North Sumatra).

Buzurg gives the distance from *Sribuza* (*Sri-vijaya*) as 120 *zam*. Ferrand¹⁷ states that a *zam* is three hours sailing, so that this distance would be 360 hours or fifteen days. According to another reckoning,¹⁸ there are 448 *zam* in 90 degrees of arc, when 120 *zam* come to just over 24 degrees, or nearly 1,700 miles, which is far too great a distance, being approximately the distance between Palembang and Ceylon.

Ibn Khurdādhbih has one more distance: between *Kālāh* and *Balus* is two days. Could this be really twelve or twenty?

What do these distances tell us? Is it possible to compare the estimate of the Akhbār al-Sin (30 days between *Kulam* and *Kalah*) with that of Ibn Khurdādhbih (16-21 days between Ceylon and *Kalah*; 10-15 from Ceylon to *Lankabalus*, and 6 from *Lankabalus* to *Kālāh*)? The time taken by different travellers will be different, depending on the conditions of sailing. But all sailors using the monsoons had some kind of estimate, so that they could work out a course for sailing without getting stranded for six months in some strange port.

If we experiment with the figures, all sorts of strange results can be obtained. The ratio 6:10 (Nicobars-*Kalah* : *Kalah*-Tioman) would place *Kalah* somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Langkawi Islands (i.e., Kedah). The ratio 10:15 (*Kalah*-Tioman : *Kalah*-Palembang) would place it somewhere near the modern town of Port Swettenham. But this is too far from Ceylon and southern India, for using the first ratio, in which *Kalah* is Kedah, the thirty days of the *Akbbār al-Sin* would take us down to Klang. Also if we take the times of Ibn Khurdādhbih (21 days from Ceylon to *Kalah*, and 6 days from the Nicobars to *Kalah*) we obtain a suitable ratio for the distances, Jaffna-Kedah and Nicobars-Kedah (Ibn Khurdādhbih's itinerary went through the Palk Strait). Then using the figure of the *Akbbār al-Sin* (10 days to *Tiyumah*) the same ratio works for the distance Kedah-Tioman. The *Sribuza* figure (fifteen days) is then far too great. But this was really measured in *zam*, which is a measurement of arc and not sailing time, so this need not worry us greatly. Birūnī is the only other author before the time of Idrīsī to give us new information, and all he adds to our knowledge is that *Kālāh* is on the opposite side of the equator to *Sribuza*.

Idrīsī and the later geographers have muddled their accounts of South-East Asia so much by introducing Ptolemaic material and by describing contemporary maps also based on Ptolemy that it is difficult to disentangle any new information. Idrīsī, obviously quoting two different sources in two separate places, gives two different times for the journey from the Nicobars to *Kalah*. Yāqūt, who attempts to summarize all previous Muslim geographical knowledge in

his dictionaries, puts *Kalah* at the extremity of India and on the equator. Ibn Sa'id places it in the south-east corner of *Jawa*, by which he means the southern part of Sumatra, and mentions its importance as a source of tin. This error (for it goes against the evidence of the earlier writers) had a lasting effect on the academic geographers and is repeated time and time again. Dimashqī goes a step further by calling the island itself *Kalah* and not *Jawa*. Abū'l-Fīda states that it is twenty *majra* (sea-days) from the Isles of the Maharāja, but what this means I do not know. It is probably another conversion of the 120 *zam* of Buzurg.

Politically, according to the Arab writers, *Kalah* is under the King of *al-Zabaj*, who is also called the Maharāja, and who is regarded by the majority of scholars as the *Sailendra* ruler of *Sri-vijaya*. Abū Zaid indicates that *Kalah* is a subsidiary state of a larger empire ruled over by the ruler of *al-Zabaj*, but Mas'ūdī seems to put *Kalah* on an equal footing with *al-Zabaj* as a possession of the Maharāja, and even places *Kalah* first, but it is doubtful if this has any significance. Dimashqī uses 'kings' in the plural which could mean that by his time (A.D. 1325) the country had split up into several principalities, but he is not a very original writer on matters relating to the Far East, so that his plural is very probably a mistake of his own or of a copyist.

The voyage of Sindbad rather contradicts the other theory, when it shows a large empire and a powerful ruler, unless it means by this the empire of *Sri-vijaya*, in which case it seems to indicate that *Kalah* was the capital of that empire. On the other hand it could mean that the empire of *Kalah* was large and powerful, but was subsidiary to the even larger empire of *al-Zabaj*. The island of *al-Nagus*¹⁹ is unrecognizable, unless it is an error for *Balus* (*Barus*) or for *Lankabalus* (the Nicobars).

Ibn Khurdādhbih and those writers who follow him produce a third version. *Kalah* still belongs to a large empire, but this time to that of Jābat al-Hindī (The Hindu Jāba). Jāba appears in several places in Ibn Khurdādhbih as one of the important kings of India, and is never confused with the Maharāja, who is the ruler of *al-Zabaj*. Jāba, besides being the name or the title of a king, is also an island between *Kalah* and China, which I would place, from information given by Ibn Khurdādhbih and other writers, somewhere south of the Malay Peninsula or in the central part of the east coast of Sumatra. It could possibly refer to Java in this context, but not in some of the later geographers (e.g., Ibn Sa'id of the thirteenth century). It is possible that Jābat al-Hindī means a Hindu ruler of Java, as opposed to the *Sailendras* who were Mahayana Buddhists? The king called Jāba by Ibn Khurdādhbih in a list of kings of India in an earlier passage is also mentioned by Marvazi and Ibn Rustah, under the form Najāba. The latter identifies the people of this monarch (according to Ferrand's rendering) as the Chalukyas. Minorsky identifies Jāba with the principality of *Chamba*, south of Kashmir. It is impossible that the ruler of the latter could be the overlord of *Kalah*, but the Chalukyas must be noted.

Abū Dulaf's version (c.950?) of the political situation differs again and is reminiscent of the small states which existed in Indonesia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The king is not too powerful and is easily swayed by the will of the people. *Kalah* seems to be definitely under Chinese influence, so much so that one is tempted to believe that this author derived his information from a Chinese source. If his direct journey from Bukhara to Sandābil (Kansu) is authentic,²⁰ then he may have picked up the rest of his information in the latter place and faked the remainder of his journey. This would explain the Chinese bias.

Little is said about the inhabitants of *Kalah* except that they dressed in a single piece of material. The Arab word is *futah*, which would be the Malay

sarong. Nobles and common people all dressed alike, as did the men and women, and the *Mukhtasar al-'aja'ib* states that they are Indians. Abu'l-Fidā goes further and says 'Muslims, Hindus and Persians (i.e., Zoroastrians or Parsis)'. These must have been members of the trading community and not the native inhabitants. Buzurg groups the people of *Kalah* with the other tribes of the area as cannibals, but one suspects that he is generalizing or referring to surrounding tribes.

Abū Dūlaf comes forward again with his Chinese information, but as his text could only be understood by Muslims, he has evidently adapted his material, perhaps by asking his informant direct questions such as, "Did the people of *Kalah* cut the throats of animals before eating them?"

Dimashqī, who normally copies his material on South-East Asia, has here introduced a long discourse on the capturing and taming of elephants, which is probably general material, not necessarily connected with *Kalah*. It has no special relevance to *Kalah*, except that he says they were trained for the kings of the country.

A summary of the products of *Kalah* is given by Abū Zaid; to these Mas'ūdī adds gold, Idrīsī, rattan, and several others, bamboo.²¹ Some of these may be imports re-exported, so that it is difficult to say which are the native products. Those actually named as being produced in *Kalah* seem to be camphor, bamboo, and rattan, while *Kalah* had mines of gold and tin.

A summary of all this shows that *Kalah* was an 'island' or kingdom situated on the sea-route from India to China, some twenty or thirty days' sail from South India and Ceylon and six days' from the Nicobars, ten days' from *Tiyumab* (almost certainly Pulau Tioman), 120 *zam* (20 *majra*?) from *Sribuza* (*Sri-vijaya*) and two days from Baros in Sumatra. Its products were bamboo, camphor and rattan, which can be found in many places over the East Indies, and the metals tin and gold. Tin in large quantities is only found in the Malay Peninsula and its continuation, the Lingga and Riau Archipelagoes, and in the islands of Bangka and Billiton, but not in Sumatra. The deposits in Bangka and Billiton were not mined until comparatively recent times. Gold can be found in the Peninsula, in the mountains of Sumatra, and in several other places in the East Indies. The importance given to tin as a product of *Kalah*, and its position as the first important stopping place after Ceylon on the China route, causes us to place it somewhere on the west coast of Malaya. The figures given for sailing times, although unreliable, would indicate a place somewhere near the present Kēdah and the Langkawi Islands. There is no description of the place to help us identify it with some modern port, except that of Abu Dulaf, which is most certainly second-hand, and even then he only gives us the impression that it was a populous district. The farther one goes from the Langkawi Islands to the north or south, the less likely are we to find these sailing times agreeing, and I would limit the location of *Kalah* to the coast between Junk Ceylon and Port Swettenham. I feel that the isthmus of Kra,²² despite the similarity of the name, is too far north to be on the direct route to China, unless the coast were followed or the isthmus itself crossed, neither of which seems to fit the case of the Arabs.

The Arab writers do emphasise one other point and that is the importance of *Kalah* as a trading centre and a focal point for shipping routes. Several times they mention that it is half way between China and Arabia (Oman), both when a direct route to China is indicated and later when it is the meeting place for Arab and Chinese ships. The *Akhbar al-Sin* does not say anything more than that it is a stopping place for obtaining fresh water, but by the time of Mas'ūdī it is the end of the Arab route and already a general rendezvous.

Abu Dulaf seems to indicate that it was the limit of Chinese navigation at that time for Chinese sailors were afraid of shipwreck if they ventured further. He also says that it was well populated and Sindbad says it was a great empire. None of the writers give precise information which would help us to localize the place. Abu Dulaf's information on the ruler and the people could apply to almost anywhere in South-East Asia. The tin mine in the fortress of the town seems an odd feature which might help in identification, but I am inclined to take this as an attempt to explain *al-Qal'i* swords and '*al-Qal'i* lead' (=tin) from the Arabic word *qal'a* (= a fortress). *Qal'i* in modern Arabic means white lead, but in classical Arabic it was used for tin, and there can be little doubt that the "white lead" mined in South-East Asia was tin. This word is sometimes taken by the Arab writers as a derivative of the word *Kalah*, and modern scholars think that it is Malay in origin. Malay has the word *kaling* which means tin-plate or tinned iron-plate. This resembles the place-name *Klang* or *Kēlang* on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, but the word *kaling* has never been known to adopt the form *kēlang*.²³

Sulaimān al-Mahrī uses the term *Jibāl al-qal'i* (= Tin Mountains) for the hills of the Malay Peninsula, specifically in the latitude of *Klang*.²⁴ Another point worthy of note in Abu Dulaf's account is that in *Kalah* a silver coin weighing two-thirds of a *dirham* was in use, which had the name *fabri*.

References to *Kalah* ought to be found in the works of other peoples who frequented South-East Asia at this time and we should expect to find accounts by the Chinese and the Indians. The Chinese texts²⁵ do mention a place by the name of *Ko-lo*, also called *Ko-lo-fu-sha-lo*, but their description has little in common with the Arab accounts of *Kalah*. No tin is mentioned at all. In the list of provinces of *San-f'o-tsi* listed in Chao Ju-kua's *Chu-fan-chih* we are given *Chia-lo-hsi* which is usually taken to be Grahi on the Bay of Bandon. It is not possible for the Arab *Kalah* to be here, but the Chinese characters are a possible rendering of it. The voyage of Kia Tan, the celebrated cartographer of the T'ang dynasty, mentions *Ko-lo* in connexion with *Ko-ku-lo* (see *Qāqullah*) and the *Sung-shu* and the *Wen-hsien-t'ung-k'ao*, quoting the same journey from Coromandel to Canton, mention *Ko-lo* in connexion with *Chan-pin* (see *Sanfin*). Ptolemy mentions a place called *Kole*[*polis*].

An astonishing amount has been written comparing the Arabic *Kalah* with the Indian forms; *Kataba*, *Kadaram*, *Kidaram*, *Kalaham*, and *Kalaga*, all of which seem to represent an important place in South-East Asia contemporary with *Kalah*.²⁶ Suggested Malay equivalents are *Kedah*, *Kra*, *Klang* and *Kora*, the last of which Groeneveldt and Schlegel claim to be Malacca.

European scholars have been making attempts to locate *Kalah* ever since Renaudot published his translation of the *Akhbar al-Sin wa'l-Hind* in 1718.²⁷ He placed it in Malabar which word he thought to be the equivalent of *Kalah-bar*. Gildemeister²⁸ in 1838 equated it with Coromandel, and Reinaud (1845) with Galle in Ceylon. Alfred Maury²⁹ (1846) was the first to see that it must be somewhere in the East Indies and he suggested Kēdah. After this the text was neglected by Arabic scholars (except Ferrand) and left to the mercy of Chinese and Indian scholars, who failed to recognize the weaknesses of Arabic texts and the untrustworthiness of certain authors. Groeneveldt compared *Kalah* with *Ko-lo* of the T'ang histories and came to the conclusion that it represented *Kora*, and in this he is followed by Schlegel. Gerini compares *Kalah-bar* with *Takua-pa* and places it in the neighbourhood of this place, north of Junk Ceylon, and makes it the equivalent of *Takola*. Fokker, Kern and Van der Lith³⁰ had also compared the name Kēdah with the word *Kalah* by showing that the Malay and

Javanese *d* is lingual and might easily be changed by the Arabs into *l*. It was also shown that the Indian terms *Kataba* and *Kadaram* had variant forms with an *i* in Tamil poems, *Kalagā* and *Kalaham*. Ferrand, in a lengthy and detailed article,³¹ quoted numerous examples from the later Jawi script to prove that the Malay and Javanese *d* always became *dal* in the Arabic script, and the Malay and Javanese *r* was often reproduced by *lam*. On the strength of this he equates *Kalah* with *Kra*. But Arab sailors, unlike Ferrand, were not philologists and could hardly be expected to render Malay names with philological exactitude. The fact that Ibn al-Mājid and Sulaimān al-Mahrī, five hundred years later, render Kēdah by *Qadab* and *Keda* does not prove that *Kalah* is not the same place. Neither is the accent a criterion. The forms *Kalah* and *Kilah* show that the accent was on the second syllable, but so is it on *Kidaram* and *Kataba*. The Arabic form *Killah*, on the other hand, has the accent on the first syllable.

Nilakanta Sastri³² would make *Kalah* equal *Kataba-Kidaram* simply on the basis of its relative importance. The two most important places in this area in the Indian accounts are *Sri-Vijaya* and *Kataba-Kidaram*, and this pair of names can be compared with the two Arabic names *Sribuza* and *Kalah*. Streck, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, mentions other Arabists who give an opinion. The earlier ones suggest *Kedah*, while the later ones follow Ferrand, who adheres to his hypothesis of *Kra* in his own article in the *Encyclopaedia* on *al-Zabaj*. Sauvaget in the latest translation of the *Akhbar al-Sin* leans towards *Kedah*.

II. QAQULLAH

(1) TRAVELLERS' TALES

- (i) *ABU DULAF*. I continued my voyage [from *Kalah*] to a town called *Jajullah*, which is on top of a mountain of which half juts out to sea and half is on dry land. There they have a king like the one of *Kalah*. They eat wheat and eggs, but they do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter animals. They have a large house of prayer. They were the only ones to oppose Alexander when he came to the land of India. They bring cinnamon here and then export it to the rest of the world. The cinnamon tree belongs to everyone communally and has no particular owner. The inhabitants dress as do the people of *Kalah*, except that they wear a Yemeni robe (*hibarah*) on feast days. They venerate from among the constellations the heart of the Lion.³³ They possess an observatory and have a complete knowledge of the stars, and study their properties assiduously.³⁴
- (ii) *BUZURG*. The people of *Fansur*, *Lamuri*, *Kalah*, *Qaqullah*, *Sanfin* and other neighbouring places are cannibals, etc. [See *Kalah*, p. 25 above].

I questioned Muhammad b. Bābishād about monkeys, and he told me that on the coast of *Sanfin*, in the valley of *Lamuri* and in that of *Qaqullah* live monkeys with an extraordinary height, going about in troupes of which the chief is the tallest. Occasionally they leave the woods and come on to the roads and paths and strike travellers, not allowing them to pass until they leave a piece of meat or other food.

Muhammad b. Bābishād states that a sailor of a boat which belonged to him told the following tale. [He fled in a small boat from his ship which was beached in a small bay two or three *paraṅangs* from *Qaqullah*]. "A difficult voyage of twenty or more *zam*, during which I nearly perished, took me to the shore of one of the islands of *Armanan*. I stayed there

some time to recuperate, taking rest and making provision of fresh water, fruits and bananas. I saw no one except the fishermen in the canoes which they brought down among the trees. Re-embarking, I sailed without direction, not knowing where I was going for 70 *zam*, and came across an island called *Badfarkalah*, where I stopped. From there I was able to reach *Kalah*."

- (iii) *IBN BATTUTA*.³⁵ *Qaqullab* and *Qmarah* are part of the territories of the king of *Mul-Jawa*. On reaching the port of *Qaqullab* we found there a number of junks ready for making piratical raids, and also for dealing with any junks that might attempt to resist their exactions, for they impose a tribute on each junk [calling at that place]. We went ashore to *Qaqullab*, which is a fine town with a wall of hewn stone, broad enough for three elephants to walk abreast on it. The first thing I saw outside the town was elephants bearing loads of Indian aloes, which they burn in their houses and which fetches the same price as firewood with us or even less. That is when they are selling amongst themselves; to the merchants on the other hand they sell a load of it for a roll of cotton cloth, which is dearer in their land than silk. Elephants are very numerous there; they ride on them and use them to carry loads. Every person has his elephants picketed at his door and every shopkeeper his elephant picketed near him, for riding on to his house and for carrying loads. The same is the case with all the people of China and Cathay.

(2) THE EARLY GEOGRAPHERS

- (i) *YA'QUBI* (from *Nuwairi*). After the amber of *Salabit* comes that of *Qaqullab*, which is a clear grey, has an excellent perfume and a fine appearance. It is light and fairly dry. It is not like that of *Salabit*, which is used for making the sweetmeat *ghaliyah*, nor is it used for purification except in cases of necessity, but it is used as an eye-salve and by lime-burners. This amber is brought from the sea of *Qaqullab* to Aden. After the aloeswood of *Qaqullab* comes that of *Snaf* (*Champa*).

(3) IDRISI AND THE LATER GEOGRAPHERS

- (i) *IDRISI*. The inhabitants [of *Qaqullab*] have much silk; therefore, they give the name *Qaquilli* to a sort of silk and a kind of cloth.

From *Luqin*,³⁶ on the shores of Hindustan, to *Qaqullab* is seven days. *Qaqullab* is on the bank of a river which flows into the Indian *Babnak*. From there to *Qashmir* is ten days.

- (ii) *QAZWINI*. The mountain of *al-Jadur* is in the land of *Qaqullab* of *al-Zabaj*. There one finds a species of white falcon with red plumes on its head, and white monkeys resembling rams with beards, and another species of monkey with a white stomach and a black back.
- (iii) *IBN SA'ID*. East of *Fawfal* are the mountains of *Qaqullab*. They contain districts and towns, among which is that of *Qaqullab*, 150° long. and 21° 50' lat. There is a river which runs down from a mountain in the north passes to the east, and flows into the great river of *Taragha*. To the east of the land of *Qaqullab* is the great range of mountains which extends from the line of the fourth climate to the Indian Ocean. This chain divides [*Qaqullab*] from the people of *al-Hanabab*, of which the capital is *al-Hanabab*, which is to the east of the great river *Taragha* [Then come twelve ranges and twelve rivers to China].³⁷

The Arab writers have two different versions of this name. *Qaullab* and *Jajullab*, or possibly *Gagullab*. The former is more usual while the latter appears in Abu Dulaf, and is copied by several later writers, such as Qazwīnī, who also mentions *Qaullab*, this time quoting some unknown source.

Abu Dulaf's description of the place shows a coastal town built on a promontory; he also places it beyond *Kalah* on the sea route from China. His next stop is Qashmīr,³⁸ which seems to indicate that he never really made this journey. On a detailed map such as that of Idrīsī, Qashmīr is marked on the east of the main block of India, where one might expect to find Bengal. Hence it is virtually a neighbour of *Qaullab* and Abu Dulaf may well have obtained this part of his journey from such a map.³⁹

Idrīsī, another very unreliable source, agrees surprisingly with Abu Dulaf, but again I have a strong suspicion that Idrīsī followed his own map. *Luqin* (*Loung-pien*) was in the delta of the Red River, near Hanoi. Seven days is a very short time to sail from Hanoi round the Malay Peninsula, especially since the *Akhbar al-Sin* gives the distance from *Sanf* to *Kalah* as forty days. It is also a short time for a land journey from the Red River delta to a place on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. There seems to be no explanation of *Babnak*. It may be the Bay of Bengal, but the large map of Idrīsī shows it as a river into which the river of *Qaullab* flows.⁴⁰

Qaswīnī adds something which does not appear elsewhere, a rare thing for that author. The mountain of al-Jādūr is mentioned only in this text and *Qaullab* is stated to be 'part of *al-Zabaj*' which suggests a place towards the south rather than the north. Ibn Sa'id's account, which is quoted by Ibn Iyās, although detailed, is so obviously based on a map as to be almost useless. The description can be followed on the large map of Idrīsī, although neither *al-Hanabab* nor *Fawfal* are marked. *Fawfal*, according to Nainar, is on the west coast of India, at the modern Bekal.⁴¹

Buzurg produces a different and much more sensible topography. The itinerary of the sailor mentioned by Muhammad ibn Bābīshād is one of the most detailed accounts that we have of the eastern part of the Bay of Bengal. *Qaullab* (or a bay less than ten miles from it) is twenty *zam* (60 hours according to Ferrand) from the islands of *Armanan*, a difficult voyage in a small boat. What that would be in recognized sailing days it is impossible to say. By the other reckoning it is 257 miles, although this calculation appeared very faulty above and it may not be wise to adopt it. *Armanan* according to Ferrand, is probably an error for *Andaman* but the form does appear elsewhere. Ibn Rustah has *al-Arman* (of which *Armanan* is the dual form, or a doubtful misprint) which De Goeje and Ferrand suggest is Pegu (Sanskrit *Ramanya*; Ferrand suggests *al-Raman*). Ibn Khurdādhbih has *Rahma* for Pegu). From here it is seventy *zam* (210 hours, 900 miles) to *Badfarkalah*, from which the sailor seems to have known his way to *Kalah*. *Badfarkalah* means nothing as two separate words in either Arabic or Persian, nor does it have any significance in Malay. Sulaimān al-Mahri, who gives a detailed account of these seas in the sixteenth century, mentions *Buttum Bashkala*,⁴² which is an island in the Mergui Archipelago. The *Bashkala* element may be the same as the *Badfarkalah* of Buzurg, but it is much too far to the north of *Kalah*, if we have to locate *Qaullab* and *Sanfin* on this coast. *Badfarkalah* seems much more likely to be Pulau Butang, which is a group of islands a little to the north of the Langkawi group, and a certain landmark for *Kalah* if that place is to be located in the Kedah area. Taking Buzurg's figures literally, we have the ratio of 2:7 for the two parts of the

journey. Middle Andaman is roughly 980 km. from Pulau Butang, the northern point of North Andaman is approximately 1,060 km. and the nearest point to the Irrawaddy delta about 1,120 km. Using the ratio this gives about 280, 300, and 320 km. from each place as the position for *Qaullab*. The second set of figures could place *Qaullab* only in the Irrawaddy delta, while the third set would place it near Tavoy, which seems a much more likely location.

However, I do not think that these sailing figures can be used accurately, particularly in this case where a single sailor is navigating (or more likely drifting) in a small boat. Andaman is a likely rendering of the middle place, because there is open sea between it and Pulau Butang, whereas a boat sailing from the Irrawaddy delta to Pulau Butang is almost certain to strike land before it reaches the latter place. I feel that the most plausible route is from somewhere in Tenasserim to Andaman, and thence to Pulau Butang and Kēdah.

Politically we find little about *Qaullab*. Abu Dulaf says that it has a king similar to the king of *Kalah*, which sounds like another small state sending tribute to China. The information about Alexander (Iskander) is probably a misquotation. The traditions relating to Iskander now prevalent in many Malay states are Muslim in origin, brought much later from Gujerat and Persia. Qazwīnī includes *Qaullab* in *al-Zabaj*, but whether politically or geographically one cannot tell. Ibn Battūta at a much later date, makes it part of the territory of the king of *Mul-Jawa* (see below).

Of the products of *Qaullab*, aloeswood is the most important and is mentioned by other writers besides geographers and travellers. Ibn Battūta gives us an idea how common it was in the land itself. The aloeswood of *Qaullab* seems to have been one of the better kinds and Avicenna, starting with the best and most important, puts it fourth in his list. Besides *Qaulli* aloeswood, Ya'qūbī mentions *Qaulli* amber⁴⁷ as an important product and Idrīsī *Qaulli* silk or cloth. None of these products is limited to any one part of South-East Asia, so that they do not help us to locate *Qaullab*. Silk does not even come from this part of the world in its natural state, although it is possible that it was exported from certain places in a made-up form. Abu Dulaf's statement that cinnamon is exported from *Qaullab* is just as useless, for this spice usually came to the West from South India.

It is interesting that the Arabic word for cardamom is *Qaullab*. The word is also Persian and appears in Pehlevi (Pazand?) as *kakura*,⁴⁴ and is, therefore, an old Indo-Aryan word and unconnected with the town. Although this substance and its substitutes are natives of South-East Asia, and are often mentioned by the Arabs, it is never connected by them with the place of the same name.

Animals mentioned in *Qaullab* are elephants, a species of tall monkey living in troupes, mentioned by Buzurg as being common in several places on the western side of the Archipelago; and two species of monkeys and a white falcon (cockatoo?) which Qazwīnī says dwell on Mount *al-Jadur*.

Of the people, Buzurg remarks that they are cannibals, but groups them with the peoples of most other places on the western side of the Archipelago. But, on the other hand, Abu Dulaf and Ibn Battūta show the civilized town one would expect to find, with walls of hewn stone and inhabitants wearing clothes, and with an organized religion, according to Abu Dulaf based on the stars. Ibn Battūta notes that they are addicted to piracy, a characteristic activity of Malay states.

Qaqullah remained in existence after most of the other towns mentioned by the early geographers had disappeared or had changed their names. It seems to have been flourishing in 1346 when Ibn Battūta visited the East, so that it is worth while examining his account separately. Although he says that he called at *Qaqullah*, his route after leaving *Samudra* is very hazy. He writes, "We sailed along the coast of his kingdom for twenty-one nights." 'His kingdom' means that of the Sultan of *Samudra*, on the north-east coast of Sumatra. Therefore, he sailed down the Sumatran coast for twenty-one nights. "Then we arrived at *Mul-Jawa*" which must consequently have been somewhere on the east coast of Sumatra, or what is more likely, the island of Java itself. "This land produces all sorts of spices and excellent aloes called *Qaqulli* and *Qmari* (*Khmeri*); *Qaqullah* and *Qmarah* (*Khmer?*) are part of his (the king of *Mul-Jawa*) land. *Qmar* (but not usually the feminine form *Qmarah*, always means the kingdom of the *Khmers*, which is certainly not reached by sailing down the coast of Sumatra, and therefore hardly in the land of *Mul-Jawa*. There is no need, therefore, to put *Qaqullah* in that land. It seems that the ruler of *Mul-Jawa* claimed to be the overlord of both these states, one in Indo-China and the other presumably in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. But Ibn Battūta, after writing for some time on various articles of commerce, follows up with a section beginning, "We arrived at the port of *Qaqullah*" and when he comes to the end of that, goes on to describe the king of *Mul-Jawa*. He does not say that *Qaqullah* is the capital of *Mul-Jawa*, nor does he ever mention the king of *Mul-Jawa* in his section on *Qaqullah*. The only connection between the two places appear in the sentence quoted in the previous paragraph. The section on *Qaqullah* can be lifted out and set down anywhere in Ibn Battūta's text, and could even be placed before his arrival in *Samudra*. It could be a passage slightly out of order or, what is more likely, some of Ibn Battūta's original material is missing.

Our Arab authors really give us very little information to help us place *Qaqullah* on the map. A town with stone walls, built on a rock jutting out to sea. It is a little further on from *Kalah* on the way from China to India. Buzurg's information confirms that it is on the western side of either the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra, but it was certainly not a regular port of call on the Oman-China route. It was also an important commercial centre for aloeswood.

The Chinese sources come to our help here for the itinerary of Kia Tan mentions that on the northern coast of the Strait of Malacca is the kingdom of *Ko-lo*, which can be compared phonetically with the Arab *Kalah*, and to the west of *Ko-lo*, (i.e., to the north-west) and presumably on the same coast is the kingdom of *Ko-ku-lo*. This confirms the account of Abu Dulaf, and does not disagree with anything that Buzurg has to say. Unfortunately the Chinese do not give a description of *Ko-ku-lo*.

Ptolemy produces several names which might be the equivalent of *Qaqullah*. There is *Kukala*⁴⁵ which is very close to the Ganges delta, *Konkonagara*, a little to the south of *Takola*, and of course *Takola* itself, which is obviously the *Takkola* of the *Milindapanha* and the *Talaittakkolam* of the Tanjore inscription.

Gerini came to no definite conclusion, but suggested that both *Kalah* and *Qaqullah* were in southern Siam (*Takuapa*), the same area being represented in Ptolemy by *Takola* and *Konkonagara*. Ferrand⁴⁶ had already placed *Qaqullah* in eastern Indo-China, basing himself mainly on the text of Ibn Battūta. On discovering the *Ko-ku-lo* of Kia Tan, he stated that there were two *Qaqullahs*, one on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal and another on the coast of Annam, but there is no evidence in favour of this second location. Ferrand⁴⁷ would locate the *Qaqullah* of Buzurg somewhere in Tenasserim, for it is obviously north of *Kalah*, which he places at the Isthmus of Kra.

The texts lead us to seek two ports on the west coast of Siam, one (*Qaullab*) situated to the north of the other (*Kalah*), while a third may exist to the north of these (*Sanfin*). There are four or five likely positions on this coast: Tavoy, Mergui and Tenasserim, the Pakchan River (Kra), Takua-pa and Kedah. None of these places has anything to compare with the mountain which juts out to sea (Abu Dulaf) or Mount al-Jādūr. Ibn Sa'id's description suggests Mergui, with the great city of *Taragha* as Tenasserim; *al-Hanabab* then would be across the range on the Siamese side, but I always regard Ibn Sa'id's accounts with suspicion. I have shown above how Mergui would agree with the sailor's voyage as described by Buzurg. If *Sanfin* were to the north of this it could be placed in Tavoy, and the *Fawfal* of Ibn Sa'id in Pegu. Ferrand has drawn our attention to the resemblance between *Fawfal* and the *Mappapalam* of the Tanjore inscription while Nilakanta Sastri states that some have identified *Mappapalam* with Pegu.⁴⁸

Finally, what is the relationship between Takkola and *Qaullab*? The equation of *Takkola* with *Qaullab* has been mentioned by most scholars and the question generally shelved through lack of evidence. Several authors have connected Takkola with Takuapa on the west coast of Siam,⁴⁹ some have put *Qaullab* here and some have connected *Kalah* with this place. If we accept this location for Takkola, we are left with the question as to whether Takua-pa was *Qaullab* or *Kalah* or neither? If we agree with Nilakanta Sastri and make *Kalah* the same place as *Kataba-Kidaram* on the grounds of its importance, this leaves the name *Takkola* free for identification with *Qaullab*. It is certainly the only Indian name which resembles *Qaullab*. One thing to note is that if *Qaullab* is Takua-pa and *Kalah* is Kēdah, the voyage of Buzurg's seaman was a much more local affair and we shall have to seek for *Armanan* much nearer to the mainland. But would not this be a more reasonable place for it?

III. PANHANG

- (i) MAS'UDI. [In the *Sea of Kandrang*] there are many peoples; there are those who are called *Fanjab*, who have wavy hair and strange figures. They ride in their small boats, wandering round any ships which come to visit them, and they throw (shoot) a strange type of poisoned arrow.

Between this people and the land of *Kalah* are mines of tin and mountains of silver. There are also mines of gold and lead⁵⁰ but these are seldom exploited.

- (ii) IDRISI⁵¹ copies Mas'udi but adds that the hair is black and that each person wears a collar of iron, copper or gold.

These two references refer obviously to a primitive sea people or *orang laut*. The *Sea of Kandrang* is the South China Sea, and Mas'udi's description would seem to put them on the same landmass as *Kalah*, i.e., on the Malay Peninsula. Idrisi's text adds a little to this description but nothing that will help to identify the people. Ibn Sa'id describes the people of Bintan in the same words. This is perhaps the best description of the Peninsula that we have in these early Arab texts for it shows a wild people on the east divided from the more civilized west by a range of mineral-bearing mountains.

Mas'udi's text actually reads *Fanjab* [= Punjab], which must be an example of a copyist reading a well known name instead of the correct rare form. I prefer to read this word as *Fanhan* [= Panghang or Panhang]. Perhaps it could be read *Fanfan* [= Pangfang] but this is rather unlikely. These two forms resemble the Chinese forms *Pang-hang* and *P'eng-feng* which have been taken

by most scholars to represent the modern Pahang.⁵² There is a possible objection to my rendering in that the Arabs rarely use the consonant *b* (the sixth letter of their alphabet), when transliterating names in South-East Asia; but whichever way we read the word, there is little doubt that a people in Pahang are meant here.

The Chinese texts represent Pahang by the terms *Pang-hang*, *Pang-k'ang* and *P'eng-feng* (Chao Ju-kua). The first two forms come from texts of Ming times and are thus much later than the Arab accounts. They show a cultivated Pahang, which the Arab accounts do not, perhaps because the Arabs never reached the cultivated parts of the east coast. Schlegel states that *Pang-hang* represents the word *Panggang*,⁵³ a name given to aboriginal tribes to the north of Pahang. This agrees more with the Arab description and leads Ferrand to adopt the reading *Fanjan* [= *Pangan*] for the Arabic name.⁵⁴

Nilakanta Sastri⁵⁵ produces a word *Kanjab* on his map, which he places in the Riau Archipelago, but whether this represents a genuine Indian name or his rendering of the Arabic term I do not know, (*Qanjab* = *Kanjab*).

IV. TIYUMAH

- (i) *AKHBAR al-SIN wa'l-HIND*. Then the ships travel to a place called *Tiyumah*, which has fresh water for anyone who desires it, and the distance to it is ten days [from *Kalah*]. Then the ships set out for a place called *Kadrang* [which takes] ten days [This is also quoted by Ibn al-Faqih].
- (ii) *IBN KHURDADHBH*. On leaving *Ma'it* one finds to the left the island of *Tiyumah*, which produces aloeswood of the sort called *hindi*, and camphor. Thence one goes in five days to *Qmar* (*Khmer*).
The Mukhtasar al-'aja'ib quotes this but says that *Tiyumah* is on the coast.
- (iii) *IDRISI*. [Also quotes Ibn Khurdādhbih, and puts *Tiyumah* one day from *Ma'it*] One finds in *Tiyumah* sandalwood and rice. The inhabitants wear a garment called *futah*, [etc., but this must obviously refer to the people of *Khmer*].

[Idrisi also has the island of *Sumah*, which is mentioned in connection with *Mujah* and *Maid*. It is two days from *Mujah*, four from *Maid* and four from *al-Ayam* (or *al-Anam*). It has edible birds and coconuts and superior camphor. The king is called *Qamrun*. There is much rain and wind, and it is surrounded by many small inhabited islands, some inhabited by *Panhang* people, etc.].

Tiyumah is the reading given by a manuscript of Ibn Khurdādhbih's work; the other MSS. have *Fyumah* and *Qyumah*; the Akhbār al-Sin has *B.tumah* while Idrisi has *Sumah* and *Shumah*. It was first identified as Pulau Tioman by Maury in 1846,⁵⁶ and the identification seems to be fairly stable. Pulau Tioman has a small creek on the west coast where ships can obtain fresh water. This was utilized by the Portuguese from the early sixteenth century when en route to China, and there is no reason why the Arabs should not have used it in the ninth century. The summit of the peak of the island is 3,383 ft., which makes it a suitable landmark for ships.

The products of the island do not seem to be very important but camphor and aloeswood are mentioned. Idrisi (under *Shumah*) mentions sandalwood and rice, and talks of the people wearing a *Futah* (sarong), but the text is very confused and it is most likely that this refers to *Khmer*. Later (this time under

Sumah) Idrīsī mentions edible birds and coconuts. The many small islands around *Tiyumab*, some inhabited by *Panbang* people, are reminiscent of that part of the coast of Malaya, and give us confirmation both of the position of *Panbang* and of *Tiyumab*. The king called *Qāmrun* could only have been the village headman, but except for the other confused statement of Idrīsī, *Tiyumab* seems to have been uninhabited. *Qāmrun* is a word used by copyists for any word remotely resembling it, in the same manner as the word *Fanjab* in the previous section. But it is usually associated with Africa or Assam (= *Qamaruṣa*).

The distances of *Tiyumab* from other places may be significant for the locations of those places. *Kalah*, (ten days) has been dealt with above; *Kadrang* or *Kandrang*, (according to Ferrand, *Panduranga*⁵⁷) a point in Cochin-China, is also ten days, but Ibn Khurdādhbih puts Khmer at five days. Idrīsī put *Ma'it* at one day in one place (*Shumab* from *Ma'it*) and in another at four (*Sumab* from *al-Maid*), while it is two from *Muja* and four from *al-Ayam* (according to Ferrand⁵⁸ a variant form is *al-Anam* Annam, or possibly the Anambas).

V. SANFIN

This place is mentioned three times in the '*Aja'ib al-Hind* and would seem from the context in each case to be situated on the west coast of either Sumatra or the Malay Peninsula. The first time it appears it is mentioned in connection with the valley of *Lamuri* and the valley of *Qaqullab* as the habitat of an extraordinary, tall species of monkey (see under *Qaqullab*). The text could be read as if 'the shore of *Sanfin*' were in the valley of *Lamuri* but this is doubtful, for it seems too precise a location for Buzurg and also a rather restricted area for the home of a certain species of monkey, which also inhabited the Peninsula (*Qaqullab*).

The second notice of *Sanfin* couples it again with *Lamuri* and *Qaqullab*. The text reads, "All the people who live in *Fansur*, *Lamuri*, *Kalah*, *Qaqullab*, *Sanfin* and the neighbouring places are cannibals [etc.]" If the places are in geographical order from North to South (and the first four seem to be), this would locate *Sanfin*, to the north of *Qaqullab* on the Peninsula.

The last reference states that in *Sanfin* a sailor met a man who was the sole survivor of a ship which had been attacked by cannibals at Andamān, again showing a possible position on the west coast.

The Chinese *History of the Second Sung* (*Sung shu*) and the *Wen hsien t'ung k'ao*, describing a journey from Coromandel to Canton, both mention a place called *Chan-pin* between Coromandel and *Ku-lo*, 77 days from the former and 61 from the latter. The times taken for various parts of the voyage are so odd as to be useless. Ferrand,⁵⁹ who discusses the voyage, suggests no identifications, except that *Chan-pin* is on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Nor does he give any identifications for the other places between Coromandel and *Chan-pin*, *Na-wu-tan* and *P'o-li-si-lan*, or for the Island of *I-ma-lo-li* which is placed between *Chan-pin* and *Ku-lo*. I have above⁶⁰ mentioned Tavoy as a suitable place, but *Sanfin* may be looked for anywhere on the coast of Tenasserim or Siam, remembering that it is quite probably north of the site of *Qaqullab*.

VI. MA'IT

- (i) *BUZURG*. Among the marvels of the sea is a bird which one finds in the neighbourhood of *Ma'it*, an island near *Sanf* and *Sribuza*. This island produces gold, cotton and honey.

- (ii) *IBN KHURDADHBIH*. The distance between *Jaba* and *Ma'it* is small... In speaking of *Ma'it*, one finds to the left of it the island of *Tiyumab*.
- (iii) *IDRISI*. After the island of *Jaba* is that of *Ma'it*; it is a dependency of the king of *Jaba* and products coconuts, bananas, sugar-cane and rice. To the left of the island of *Ma'it* is *Tiyumab*, and between this and *Ma'it* is one day's journey. [Ibn al-Wardī quotes this].
- (iv) *IBN YUNUS*.⁶¹ *Maidh*. [In Eastern Asia, Khwārizmī places a large island called *Maidh* or *Kul*, of which the centre is 107° long. and 12° lat. It is watered by a river and contains three villages, of which one is at 107°. He puts it in the sea to the south and to the south-east of *Sirandib* (Ceylon). MSS. also have *k.r.k.* for the second name. Ibn Sa'īd has *Mand* and *k.n.k.*].

Ma'it, *Mayit* or *Mayat* (other variants are *Mab.t*, *Maq.t* and *Maf.t*) is mentioned only by Buzurg and Ibn Khurdādhbih (and, of course, those who quote the latter). Buzurg's location for it is rather vague: between *Sanf* (*Champa*) and *Sribuza*⁶² (*Sri-Vijaya*). Ibn Khurdādhbih's location is more detailed. On his route to China it comes between the group of islands, *Jaba*, *Selabit* and *Harang*, which I would place at the southern end of the Straits of Malacca, and *Khmer* (*Qmar*). This points to the Riau Archipelago or to South Malaya. *Tiyumab* would then be to the left of the route from *Ma'it* to *Khmer*. Note that the Arab term 'to the left' sometimes means 'to the north'. *Tiyumab* is also to the north of these. There is also the possibility that *Ma'it* was in Borneo in the neighbourhood of Sambas, but Ibn Khurdādhbih says that the distance between *Jaba* and *Ma'it* is small. Idrīsī makes it one day's journey.

The products are gold, cotton and honey (Buzurg), together with coconuts, bananas, sugar-cane and rice (Idrīsī). Idrīsī's list could be the products of almost anywhere in South-East Asia. If *Jaba* were in Central Sumatra, the dependence of *Ma'it* on the king of *Jaba* would be credible for a country in either the Malay Peninsula or the Riau Archipelago. This fact may refer to any period between A.D. 850 and 1,100, and cannot help us much.

Later, Idrīsī mentions the island of *al-Ma'id* in connection with *Shuma*, which is obviously *Tiyumab*. *al-Ma'id* usually stands for *al-Maid* which, according to others, is a kingdom in the neighbourhood of Yunnan. This is usually connected with *Mujab*, which Idrīsī also pushes into South-East Asia. Khwārizmī the Arabic editor of Ptolemy, also has an island called *Maidh*, which Ibn Sa'īd throws into the confusion. Idrīsī's island is a strange place, for he puts it in the Farthest East near *Sila* (= Korea). It does not seem to fit into the South-East Asian setting, but it has gold mines, coconuts and sugar-canes as above. But the rest resembles the usual tales about the islands of *Waq-waq*.

Ibn Sa'īd is so mixed up in his Ptolemaic geography that it is difficult to sort out anything of significance. *al-Ma'id* is north of *al-Mujab* and is a smaller island than the latter; between them is a passage half a degree in width. The inhabitants take honey and wax to China. Here ends the Indian Ocean, and the Encircling Ocean (*Bahr al-Mubīt*) begins at 164° 31' long. and 12° 30' lat. (south). The town of *Ma'id* is at 163° long. and 4° lat. Travellers sometimes reach here, when they turn out to sea in order to reach *Jawa*. At the place where the two seas meet is the river of *Khumdan*, the greatest river in China... to the west is the town of *Qatighura*.⁶³

Later Ibn Sa'īd mentions the Islands of *al-Mand* the most remarkable being the *Island of Kilwa*. For the name of *Mand* he quotes Ptolemy (i.e., Khwārizmī) The three towns of *al-Mand* are called *Mand*, *Kank* and *Kilwa*. One day's journey

west of *Kilwa* is the *Island of al-Qutriyah* (Ferrand reads *al-Qutrubiyah*, the *Isle of the Ogre*). Two days to the south is the *Island of Monkeys* and to the south of this is *Karimada* (*k.nurwah* in the MS, but obviously a quote from Idrīsī, who has *k.r.m.dah*) which might be the islands between Borneo and Billiton. Near all these are the islands of *al-Zabaj*.

Nuwairi places the *Island of al-Manad* as the nearest island to India in the *Sea of Lawri*, which also includes Ceylon, Fansūr (in Sumatra), *Kalah*, Andamān and the Maldives. The *Sea of Lawri*, according to the older geographers, is the Arabian Gulf.

What can be gained from this mess it is very difficult to see. These are all various attempts to read the maps of the period, and it is quite possible that several places of roughly the same name are mixed up. To add to the confusion it is possible with a great deal of imagination to read the Arabic word *Ma'it* as *Tumasik*!

The Chinese sources mention a place called *Ma-yih-tung*, which has been connected with the Arabic *Ma'it* by Schlegel,⁶⁴ and which he compares with the Chinese account of Pahang. He thinks that it should be placed in the Riau Archipelago, while M. Sprenger identified it with Bintan. The products of *Ma-yih-tung* include cotton, yellow wax (would this be Buzurg's honey?) and sugar-cane. Cotton only grows in a few places in the East Indies, so it is significant that both *Ma'it* and *Ma-yih-tung* produce it. This is the only place in the Arabic texts where cotton is mentioned as a product of the East Indies. It is not cultivated either in Riau or in the Malay Peninsula at the present time, but only in Java and South Sumatra.

There is no Indian name which corresponds to *Ma'it*, unless it is *Mayirudingam* of the Tanjore inscription, but Nilakanta Sastri⁶⁵ would identify this with *Ji-lo-ting* in the north-eastern part of the Peninsula.

VII. MUL-JAWA

- (i) WASSAF. Among the conquests made in his [Kublai Khan] time is that of the *Island of Mul-Chava* in the year 691 (A.D. 1292) [The governor, Sri-Rama, wished to make submission, but Kublai Khan put the son of the governor in power for the payment of tribute and taxes in pearls and gold. Products were pearls, aloeswood and cloves, and parrots crying out in Arabic,⁶⁶ etc.].

- (ii) IBN BATTUTA.⁶⁷ We sailed along the coast of his [Sultan of Samutra] territories for twenty-one nights and arrived at *Mul-Jawa*, an infidel land, two months journey in length and containing aromatic spices and the excellent aloes called *Qaquli* and *Qamari*. In the territories of the Sultan of *Samutra* there is only incense, camphor and a little cloves and Indian aloes, whereas the largest quantity of these is found in *Mul-Jawa*. [This author then writes of *Qaqullah* and gives a note on the four products].

The Sultan of *Mul-Jawa* is an infidel, I saw him outside his palace sitting beside a pavilion on the bare ground. [Mentions officers and troops; no horses, only elephants. A story about a man with a knife; and then the journey is continued by sea.]

I have added this to the list of places in the Peninsula, because the majority of scholars have placed it somewhere in that locality in vain attempts to explain Ibn Battūta's text, and at the same time make *Qaqullah* the capital of *Mul-Jawa*. I have shown under the section on *Qaqullah* that Ibn Battūta does not state that

Qaullah is the capital of *Mul-Jawa* and that his sections on *Qaullah* and *Mul-Jawa* have probably become intertwined. I have also shown that it is possible to understand Ibn Battūta's text if we put *Qaullah* on the north-west coast of the Peninsula where the other texts indicate it to be, and identify *Mul-Jawa* with the island of Java itself. This location for *Mul-Jawa* is supported by the text of the thirteenth-century Persian geographer Wassāf, who is obviously describing the attack of Küblai Khan's army on the island of Java. The word *Mul* is most probably derived from an Old Iranian word, and becomes more common in later Arabic and Persian navigational works, where it has the sense of being on the edge or frontier, especially the seashore.⁶⁸ It is doubtful if it applies here, but it was probably used by Arab geographers to distinguish the island of Java from Central Sumatra which seems to have gone under the name *al-Jaba* or *al-Jawa*, in much the same way as the early European cartographers called them *Java Maior* and *Java Minor*.

Yule's objection to the identification of *Mul-Jawa* with Java was the abundance of elephants and aloeswood. Both of these can be explained away because they are in the section on *Qaullah* and do not apply to *Mul-Jawa* itself. The king of *Mul-Jawa* certainly has elephants, but this is supported by Yule's statement: "There are no elephants in Java, except such few as are imported to swell the state of the native princes".⁶⁹ The only fact that remains to be explained is the allegiance of a town on the northern part of the west coast of the Peninsula to Java. But as *Khmer*, if *Q.marab* is *Khmer*, is also mentioned it is probably a fiction of the Javanese court. The Javanese rulers have often claimed to be the overlords of Cambodia, and Ibn Battūta's voyage coincided roughly with the career of Gajah Mada, and the greatest period of Javanese expansion.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, it will be interesting to take the Malay Peninsula as a whole and examine the question, "What did the Arabs know about the Peninsula?"

In the first place, they did not realize that it was a peninsula or, at least they give us that impression. Practically all the places mentioned in South-East Asia by the early geographers are described as *Jazirah*, which usually means 'island', but is used indiscriminately for peninsula or island. Thus *Kalah* is an island or peninsula; so are *Ma'it*, *Tiyumab*, *Mul-Jawa*, *Sanf* and *Qmar* (Cambodia), and places such as *Balus*, *Fansur*, *Lamuri* and *Malayur* in Sumatra. But nowhere do we get the idea that there is a large peninsula containing several states or kingdoms. Ptolemy, whose system all Arab cartographers had adopted, made it very clear that he recognized a peninsula in South-East Asia, but the Arab maps obliterated all trace of it, leaving only a confused jumble of islands.

From the time of Ibn Sa'id onwards we are given the large island of *al-Jawa*, which represents Sumatra. *Kalah* is also placed on this island and some have suggested that Malaya and Sumatra were thought to be one island. This could only have happened if the Arabs had consistently used the Straits of Sunda as the route to China; but I think that it is very obvious from Arabic texts that the Straits of Malacca were used and that the existence of the Sunda Strait was unknown to Arab traders.

The very limited knowledge that the Arabs possessed of Malaya was, I think, entirely due to the route they followed. The texts given above show that the majority of places known to them were on the west coast and, moreover, only in the northern part of that coast, from Pegu to Kēdah, or perhaps as far

south as Klang. It was to the west coast of the Peninsula and, in a lower latitude, to the west coast of Sumatra, that Arab sailors and merchants made their numerous voyages in quest of spices. This can be seen from the accounts of Buzurg and Sindbad. If the Arabs went further, and they seem to have travelled quite often to Sri-Vijaya, then they sailed down the east coast of Sumatra (crossing over from Malaya somewhere in the latitude of Klang), for it is of that coast that they give information, and not of Malaya. When they travelled the whole way to China, they still sailed down the Sumatran coast and then turned east to skirt the extreme southern tip of the Peninsula (possibly *Ma'it*) to call for water at Tioman, or to leave it on the west. Of the east coast the Arabs knew nothing except that strange savages paddled out in canoes from that direction to attack their ships. There is just a vague hint that they knew that *Kalah* could be reached by crossing the mountains from the homes of these savages.

As the Arab travels to the Far East were mainly trading expeditions and not voyages of discovery, it is natural that they tell us little about the condition of the land and people, although information is given in some detail of the products and exports of each place. Only Abu Dulaf and Ibn Battūta actually described places where they had themselves been, and there is some doubt whether either of them visited South-East Asia. Abu Dulaf's work has not survived beyond quotations, and Ibn Battūta's has probably been mutilated at some stage. In spite of this, the Arab sources shed definite light on conditions in South-East Asia, besides confirming much that the Chinese texts and the Indian inscriptions say.

Kalah appears first in the Arab texts as a watering place on the route to China, but it is then shown as a prosperous area with a settled government and the entrepôt for all trade between the West and the Far East. It is the most important place on the Peninsula and one of the most important in the East Indies. *Qaqullah* too, was a well built town and port with an important trade in aloeswood.

The civilization of the Peninsula was concentrated on the north-western side while the south and the east were occupied by more primitive societies; the south-east in particular seems to have been inhabited by savages. Pulau Tioman was probably uninhabited. Political authority seems to have been in the hands of petty kings, but *Kalah* probably had an empire at one time, perhaps a loose confederation of 'city-states', including some on the Sumatran coast. The whole was loosely under the authority of the ruler of *al-Zabaj*, known as the Maharāja, and much of the Archipelago went under the title of the "Isles of the Maharāja".

It is essential to notice the time factor when dealing with the political framework. All the information we have about *Kalah* can be dated before A.D. 1,000. Its submission to *Jabat al-Hindi* comes originally from Ibn Khurdādhbih and must be about A.D. 850 or earlier. The texts dealing with the 'great empire' and its domination by the Maharāja date from the early tenth century. The empire of *Kadaram* was still in existence at the end of the eleventh century, but detailed information from the Arabs is not available after A.D. 1,000. *Qaqullah* does not appear until the middle of the tenth century but, as we have seen it was still an important place when Ibn Battūta visited it in the middle of the fourteenth. The name *Tiyumab* seems to have persisted throughout the period and still exists today, but the other remaining places are mentioned so few times that it is impossible to map out their history in this manner. *Ma'it* is on record in about A.D. 850 and *Panbang* and *Sanfin* about 950. *Mul-Jawa* was only noticed by the Muslims in the late thirteenth century.

Among the products of the Peninsula the most important was the tin of *Kalah*. Other minerals were gold and silver, but these do not seem to have been important commercially. Sumatra was the gold-exporting country. Among the products of the jungle, aloeswood was probably the most important, *Qaullab* being the main centre for this, although *Kalah* also exported it, or more likely re-exported it, for it was the most important market of the Peninsula. Camphor, too, was important. This was found throughout the Peninsula, and some was even gathered in *Tiyumab*. The other articles of trade mentioned are the ambergris of *Qaullab*, bamboo, rattans, coconuts, bananas, rice; the cotton and honey of *Ma'it* and edible birds of *Tiyumab*. Possibly the strange bird of *Ma'it* was one of these.

It will be seen that in spite of nearly five hundred years of trading with the East Indies, the ordinary man who read the works of the famous geographers had practically no idea of the Malay Peninsula, but only of certain vague places from which familiar products were brought. This knowledge, crystallized by A.D. 1,000, remained current knowledge in general literature until almost the eighteenth century when, with the coming of printing, European works were first translated and read in the Ottoman Empire. Only the seamen themselves knew more of these lands, and compiled charts and navigational works for their own use. When they first began this we do not know. Perhaps the original of the *Akhbar al-Sin wa'l-Hind* was one of these works. The earliest surviving examples, however, are from the end of the fifteenth century, and will be discussed in Part II of this article.

NOTES

1. Sauvaget writes this *Kalah-vara*. 2. The text appears in a clearer form in the same passage in Ibn al-Faqih. Both texts are taken from the same original source. 3. This is the Arab term for a loose loin-cloth resembling the Indian *dhoti*. It is obviously used here and elsewhere in these texts for the Malay *sarong*. 4. This is Quilon on the south-western coast of India. 5. This is Ferrand's way of translating this passage. Sauvaget (pp. 8-9) inserts the word *Kalah* into the text and produces "Le distance entre Koulam-(Malaya) et (cet endroit) n'est pas longue; de Harkand à *Kalah-vara*, une mois". This seems to be stretching the text too far, and produces an incomprehensible result. 6. The Arab root means to 'dye red' (probably derived from this name). Hobson-Jobson under 'Brazil-wood', say, "It is the Bakkam of the Arabs". This is a dye wood of the genus *Caesalpinia*, formerly brought from the Indies but in more recent times from Brazil. 7. The text has *al-Afr.nd*. Ibn Khurdādhbih mentions this under the name *al-firand*, which seems to be a kind of silk imported from China. Here it must mean the Malay *sarong*. 8. The sermon given in the mosque on Friday. The name of the ruler to whom allegiance was made was always mentioned in the prayers, and this was a most binding token of allegiance in the Muslim world. 9. The direction of Mecca, towards which the praying Muslims turned. 10. This is the version given by Ferrand (*Relations*, p. 568). Burton's translation omits the last sentence. The only Arabic version available to me (Cheikho, Beirut, vol. 3, 2nd. Edition) omits the whole section. 11. Ibn Rustah goes on, but mixes *al-Zābaj* with *al-Zanj* and Africa with South-East Asia, so that it is impossible to find out what he knows. It is probable that he used a map to obtain his curious conceptions. 12. The Arabic root actually means "to draw up together with strings" like the neck of a purse. 13. *Qanun al-Mas'udi*, written by Birunī. 14. *Kitāb al-atwal wa'l-urud*, by al-Fāris; written in the tenth century. 15. Another name for the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* of Hasan b. Ahmad al-Muhallabī, written c. 980. 16. On the identity of *al-Zābaj* with the *Sri-vijaya* empire see: Nilakanta Sastri, *Sri Vijaya*, pp. 269 ff.; Ferrand, G., *L'Empire sumatranais de Çrivijaya*, pp. 107 ff.; Coedès, G., "A propos d'une nouvelle théorie sur le site de Srivijaya," p. 5; and "Le royaume de Çrivijaya," BEFEO, vol. 18 (1918), pp. 1-36. A short list of sources giving other identifications can be seen in P. Wheatley's article on Takola "in *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 2 (1954), p. 42, note 1. 17. *Relations de voyages*, p. 581, note 2. 18. *Relations de voyages*, p. 495. 19. It is possible that this represents the Chinese *Nakur*, but there is a period of 500 years between the references. Ferrand (*Relations*, p. 115) compares this place with *al-Nāfun* in the text of al-Muqaddisī. Yule has read this as *Nipon*, but this could hardly apply to our place. Ferrand corrects al-Muqaddisī's

text to *al-Yāqut*, a mythical island of the Far East which is a favourite with the later geographers, and is derived from Khwarizmi's version of Ptolemy. It is most unlikely that the *al-Nāqus* of Sinbad is the same. 20. Article on Abu Dulaf in the *Encycl. of Islam*. 21. Abu'l-Fida mentions lead *al-rasās* as a product of *Kalāh*. But this is probably a mistake for tin *al-rasās al-qal'i*. 22. At the southern end of the strait which separates the island of Penang from the mainland are two islands known as Pulau Kra. These were mentioned by the navigator-author Sulaimān al-Mahrī (see Part II of this article), and must have been of some importance to Arab merchants in the sixteenth century. They were written Kra, whereas the isthmus was Qra. 23. Article on *Kalāh* is the *Encycl. of Islam*. 24. See p. 52. 25. The Chinese references have been taken from the works of Schlegel, Groeneveldt, Hirth and Rockhill and Ferrand mentioned in the bibliography. 26. Compare the works of Nilakanta Sastri, Majumdar and Ferrand mentioned in the bibliography. 27. *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs mahometans qui y allerent dan le neuvieme siecle* (Paris, 1718). 28. *Scriptorum arabicorum de rebus Indicis, lois et opuscula inedita* (Bonnae 1838). 29. "Examen de la route que suivaient, au IXe siècle de notre ère, les Arabes et les Persans pour aller en Chine," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (1846), pp. 203-38. 30. In Ferrand's article see note 31. 31. "Le K'ouen-Louen et les anciennes navigations," Appendix I, J. A., (1919), pp. 214-33. 32. Sri Vijaya, p. 272. 33. *Regulus*. 34. This is copied by Qazwīni in slightly different terms and by Bakuwī and Ibn Iyās. 35. Gibb, H. A. R., Ibn Battuta, pp. 276-7. The names have been spelt to agree with the rest of the text. 36. Luqin for Lufin, i.e. Lung-pien, in the delta of the Red River. 37. Quoted also by Ibn Iyas. 38. Ibn Mājid says *Kashmīr* when he means *Cosmin*, a place near Bassein in the Irrawaddy delta, but I do not think that this is meant here. Besides, Abu Dulaf spells the word *Qashmir*. 39. Abu Dulaf's journey took place about 940, but the earliest detailed maps that we possess are reputed to be the work of much later geographers. Note, too, that the first detailed account of his voyage occurs in a work of Yāqut about 1200. 40. Miller, K., *Mappae Arabicae*, 1 Bd. (Stuttgart, 1926), 2 Heft. Die Weltkarte des Idrisi von Jahr 1154 n. Chr. 41. Sulaimān al-Mahrī mentions a place *Fawfalām* on the coast of Orissa. This may be the same place. 42. See p. 48. 43. Ambergis. 44. Laufer, B.: *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919). p. 193. 45. Renou, L.; *La géographie de Ptolémée, l'Inde* (vii, 1-4) Paris, 1925. Plate A. 46. "Le K'ouen-Louen," J. A., vol. 14 (1919), p. 43, n. 1. 47. op. cit. p. 43. 48. See also note 42 above. 49. The question of the location of Takkola has been dealt with recently by P. Wheatley in "Takola emporion: a study of an early Malay place name," *MJTG* vol. 2 (1954), pp. 35-47. 50. The mention of lead (*al-rasās*) as well as tin (*al-rasās al-abyad*), by Mas'udī is odd, as lead does not occur in the Malay Peninsula, but it is likely that Mas'udī compiled his text from two sources, one being a manuscript in which the word *al-abyad* has been omitted. 51. Idrisi's text has *al-Fanjat* with the article, instead of *li-Fanjab*. 52. Schlegel, "Geographical notes," *T.P.*, vol. 10 (1899), pp. 39ff.; Groeneveldt, "Notes on the Malay archipelago," p. 136; Ferrand, "Le K'ouen-Louen," *J.A.*, vol. 13 (1919), p. 282. 53. From Grunwedel, *Die Wilden Stämme von Malaka* (Berlin, 1892), vol. 2, 3-4 fasc., pp. 97-8. 54. *Relations* p. 99. note 2. 55. Sri Vijaya, Plate 1. 56. "Examen de la route que suivaient, au IXe siècle de notre ère, les Arabes et les Persans pour aller en Chine," pp. 203-38. 57. *Relations*, p. 16. 58. *Relations*, p. 191, note 2. 59. "Le K'ouen-Louen," *J.A.*, t. 14 (1919), pp. 39ff. 60. See p. 38. 61. Ferrand, *Relations* p. 594. 62. The text has *Sarirā*. 63. *Qytghura* in the text, for *Qytghura*, the *Kattigara* of Ptolemy. 64. "Geographical notes," vol. 9 (1898), pp. 365 ff. 65. Sri Vijaya, p. 287, note 1. 66. Ibn al-Faqih mentions similar parrots in *al-Zābaj*. 67. Gibb, H. A. R., *Ibn Battuta*, pp. 276-7. 68. Ferrand, G., in *Journal Asiatique*, t. 204 (1924), pp. 222-230. 69. Yule, Sir H., *Cathay and the way thither*, vol. 4 (London 1916), pp. 155-7.

Part II: A.D. 1450-1550

With the exception of Ibn Battūta we have no first-hand accounts of the Malay Peninsula from A.D. 1,000 to the end of the fifteenth century, but we are fortunate in possessing in two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale a selection of sailing directions in the Indian Ocean which date from this time. These two manuscripts (*Ms. Arabe* 2292 and *Ms. Arabe* 2559) have been reproduced as volumes 1-2 of Gabriel Ferrand's *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais des XVe et XVIe siècles* (P. Geuthner, Paris; 1921-25), and it is from this edition that these passages have been translated. They contain a series of tracts, attributed to two Arab sea-captains, on navigation in general and on the Indian Ocean in particular. The authors are Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad ibn Mājid and Sulaimān b. Ahmad al-Mahrī, and their proper title was *Mu'allim*, literally meaning teacher, but in nautical parlance having the sense of "Master Navigator". Ibn Mājid is reputed to be the same who guided Vasco da Gama from Malindi across the Indian Ocean. The text of his which I have quoted, *Hawiyat al-ikhtisar fi 'ilm al-bihar*, is dated 1462. Of Sulaimān al-Mahrī we know nothing except that he was dead when Sidi 'Alī wrote his navigational work entitled the *Muhit* in 1553. Five tracts have survived in his name in *Ms. 2559*, one of which is dated 1511, and two of which mention the seas and coasts of the Malay Peninsula. They were both translated into Turkish by Sidi 'Alī in the *Muhit*, and have since been translated with the rest of Sidi 'Alī's work into several European languages.¹ The first is *al-'Umdat al-mahriyah fi dabt 'ilm al-bahriyah* (ff. 11v. - 59r), and the second *Kitab al-Minhaj al-fakbir fi 'ilm al-bahr al-zakbir* (ff. 59v. - 93r.). They both cover the same ground as regards the Malay Peninsula, but the second is more detailed.

These works cannot be compared with the works of the earlier geographers and travellers. They mention only a very few of the names given by the earlier writers but contain a wealth of new material, and compare very favourably with similar contemporary works by the Portuguese and other European travellers. Most of the place-names can be identified, and often they are the same as the modern ones. The compass bearings and latitudes can be used to produce a map of the west coast of Malaya which is far superior to contemporary European maps. This is especially true of Sulaimān al-Mahrī. Ibn Mājid's work is more sketchy, and contradictory statements often make the true course ambiguous.

The texts contain three types of description: one giving the latitudes of places and their compass bearings from each other, with occasional brief descriptions; the second giving sailing directions for a particular route, mentioning depths, directions and any other information thought necessary for the successful completion of the voyage; while the third type gives a brief list of places having the same latitude.

Latitudes are given in terms of the Pole Star, (*al-Jab*) or of the Guardians of the Pole (*al-Farqadan*; Beta and Gamma *Ursae Minoris*) above the horizon. The Arab measurements are never correct and only give a very vague indication of the latitude of the place. The unit of measurement is an *isba'*², which is approximately 1° 43'. It is important to note that in the translation I have used the degree sign for the Arab unit of an *isba'* and not for European degrees. I have usually abbreviated Pole Star to P.S.

I have given the text of Sulaimān al-Mahrī first, with full notes, because it contains more detail, including almost everything mentioned in Ibn Mājid. It is also in prose and gives straightforward reading which can be followed

1. Superior numbers refer to notes on pp. 53-7.

easily with a chart. The text of Ibn Mājid I have added as a curiosity and for completeness. It is written in simple poetry in the *ragaz* metre, like so many elementary text books in Arabic, for the benefit of those who have to remember it. I have added notes only to explain the reading of the text. For the identification of place-names, reference will have to be made to the similar section in the work of Sulaimān.

The work of Sidi 'Alī Çelebi, known as the *Mubit*, which was written in Turkish in 1553, brings this period to a close, but as he translated the works of Sulaimān, and added nothing of his own, on Far Eastern matters there is no need to go into this work in detail.

I. SULAIMAN b. AHMAD al-MAHRI

from AL-'UMDAT al-MAHRIYAH FI DABT al-'ULUM al-NAJMIYAH (MS 2559)
f. 21 r., l. 13 - f. 21v., l. 11.

Section on the sea-routes near the Siamese mainland. The journey from Sundib³ and Faradib to Shati-Jam⁴ is [made in the direction] ESE.; from Shati-Jam to the island of Zanjiliya⁵ is due south and from Zanjiliya to Najirashi,⁶ SSE. From Najirashi to Martaban is ESE. and from Martaban to Tawahi,⁷ SSE; and from Jumar¹² to the mountain of Fali,⁸ due south. From Fali to the island of Butom⁹ is due south and from Butom to the islands of Pulau Sanbilan¹⁰ Malacca, SSE. From Pulau Sanbilan to the islands of Pulau Jumar¹¹ (it is due south and from Jumar)¹² to the mountain of Pulau Basalar,¹³ SE. by E., although some say ESE. Then from Pulau Basalar to Malacca it is SE., and from Malacca to Singapur, and this is the end of Siam to the South and there the Guardians¹⁴ are 5° [above the horizon]... But there are two opinions about this, one says it is ESE., and the other SE.

Section on the sea routes of China¹⁵. The journey from Singapura to Banagh,¹⁶ where the Pole Star is 4° [above the horizon], is N by W. Then from Banagh to Sura,¹⁷ 4½° P.S.,¹⁶ it is NNW. From Sura to the Gulf of Kul,¹⁹ 4½° P.S., it is NW by W.; and from Sura to Shahr-i Naw,²⁰ 5½°, due north. Then from Shahr-i Nawa to Cape Kanbusa,²¹ 5°²² P.S., is SE by E.

f. 26., l. 9 - f. 27v., l. 6.

Section on the islands in the sea off the Siamese coast, which are called Takwa,²³ and are from 5°-2° P.S. The first of them is the island of Fali. This is a large island, the northern point of which is 5° P.S. and the southern one, 4¾° P.S. Next to the south, in line with it is Fali Kara,²⁴ the northern point of which is 4½° P.S., and facing it in the east is the island of Lawamand²⁵ and the estuary of Markhi.²⁶ After it on the south is another island nearby called Awzarmanda,²⁷ having the appearance of a large sail. The Pole Star there is 4½° [above the horizon]. Then, after these in line are four large islands called Butom Bashkala,²⁸ 4° P.S., then an island called Shayan,²⁹ at 3¾° P.S., then another large island called Lini³⁰ at 3½° P.S. Next comes another island called Tanakulam³¹ whose northern point is at 3¼° P.S. and whose southern one is at 3°. Then comes the island of Pulau Lanta,³² an inhabited island, whose inhabitants are permanently settled. Fruits are found there and it is at 2¾° P.S. Next is an island called Pulau Kalari,³³ 2½° P.S., facing which to the west of its northern point are the islands known as Pulau Sanbilan³⁴ Siam, and after Pulau Kalari is a small island called Pulau Ayami³⁵ at 2¼° P.S. Now the island of Orang Salab³⁶ (i.e., Ujong Salang, Junk Ceylon) is a large, long island to the east of these islands, its north cape being at 2¼° P.S., facing Pulau

Lanta, and between them are two *zam*; whereas the other cape on the south is at 2° P.S. facing the southernmost point of *Pulau Sanbilan*, with four *zam* between them. Beyond *Orang Salah*, when you travel SE. you come to a large island called *Pulau Penang*³⁷ at 1½° P.S., and after this is another island called *Butang*³⁸ at 1° P.S. Now the routes used for the above mentioned islands, when you leave all of them on the left: from *Martabān* to the island of *Fali*, go due south, and from *Fali* to the end of the island of *Orang Salah*, SSE., and from the end of this to the island of *Butang* at 1½° P.S., and from the island of *Butang* to *Pulau Basalar* SSE., as has been said. Now from *Fali* you do not again see the mainland until you have passed *Pulau Butang*. They say that there is near the islands of *Butom Bashkala*, in line with the islands which follow on to the south, a strait at 3° P.S. between these islands and in line with the islands of *Butom*. The sea here is approximately 60-70 fathoms deep.

f. 56r., l. 5 - f. 56v., l. 6.

[from] *The voyage from Diu to Malacca*..... When you have passed *Sarjal*³⁹ [one of the Nicobars], continue in the direction E. by S., until you discover land, and when you sight it turn parallel to it until you come to the Islands of *Pulau Sanbilan*, that is the Nine Islands; and from *Pulau Sanbilan* go due south. Now you should notice some way to the right in the west,⁴⁰ some islands; but continue on your way due south until you reach the Islands of *Pulau Jumar*. When you see them around you, turn ESE. It will be quite deep there—ten and eleven fathoms; then there is no need to fear; then twelve until the water increases and you have plenty of water. Then you have come out from *Qafasi*.⁴¹ Now turn parallel to the mainland until you see the mountain of *Pulau Basalar* in the NE. Then sound the water and take 24 fathoms, taking care here of a bank connected to the mainland. Go ahead in 24 fathoms until you see *Mount Pulau Basalar* to the NNE., and this time nearer to the land, then follow the mainland to Malacca.

The Cholas follow the route due south from *Pulau Sanbilan* for two *zam* and then turn S by E. Then he who follows this route takes the middle course between the bank of the island of *Qafasi*, called *Pulau Hansa*,⁴² and the *Island of Jumar*. When you see them together, the island of *Qafasi* to the left and the *Island of Jumar* in the distance to the right, then you turn SE by S. There the depth is 8 or 9 fathoms, until it increases and there is plenty of sea. Then he has come out from *Qafasi*. Then turn to the land as before.

f. 57v. l. 6 - l. 12.

The voyage from Malacca to Aden. When you leave Malacca you follow the land to *Mount Pulau Basalar*, and beware of the bank mentioned before. When you see *Mount Pulau Basalar* in the direction E by S. you turn NW by W. until you see *Pulau Jumar* a short distance off. When you have left it behind you, turn due north until you sight the islands of *Pulau Sanbilan*, and when you come to these you turn NNW. for a lile to *Pulau Batagh*,⁴³ and from there you travel W by N. to the islands of *Naja Bara* [Nicobars].

FROM KITAB *al-MINHAI al-FAKHIR FI 'ILM al-BAHR al-ZAKHIR*
(MS 2559).

f. 62v. l. 12 - f. 63v. l. 11.

Section on the sea routes around Bengal, Siam and Malacca. [This is roughly the same as the section on f. 21, but latitudes are given and the spellings of the names differ. *Faradib* becomes *Faradibu* (and *Sundib*, *Sundibu*) at 11° P.S., *Zanjiliya* is 10½° P.S., *Najirashi* becomes *Bahrasi* at 7° P.S.; *Martaban*, 6°; *Tawabi* is *Khor* (estuary) *Tawabi*, 5°; *Fali*, 5°; *Butom Bashkala*, 4°. The direction from *Fali* to

Butom Bashkala has two opinions, one SSE. and the other due south. From *Butom Bashkala* to *Pulau Basalar*, $6\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of the Guardians, the direction is SSE. and from *Pulau Basalar* to *Singapur*, 5° of the Guardians, SE.].

Section on the sea routes of *Pahang*⁴⁴ and *China*. The route from *Singapur* to *Banagh*⁴⁵ at 4° P.S. is N by W., and from *Banagh* to *Sura* at $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ P.S., NNW. From *Sura* to the *Gulf of Kul*, $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ P.S. is NW by W., and from *Sura* to *Shahr-i Naw*, 5° P.S., SE by E.

f. 77r. l. 15 - f. 78r. l. 10.

Section on the islands of *Takwa*,⁴⁶ which are off the Siamese coast. They are large islands, the first of them being at 5° P.S. This is the island of *Fali*,⁴⁷ or *Fali*; then, after that to the south, that is, in a line across the sea from the well known islands, is *Fali Kabar* (*Fali Kara*?) at $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ P.S. Next to the south are the islands of *Butom Bashkala* at 4° , and after them to the south is the island of *Shayan*, at $3\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$. Next to the south is the island of *Kayni*⁴⁸ at $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, which is a large island; and after that is the island of *Tanakulam*⁴⁹ at 3° . Next is the small inhabited island called *Pulau Lanta* at $2\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$, [Then the following islands one after the other to the south; *Pulau Kabadi* (*Pulau Kalari*), $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; *Pulau Ayam*, $2\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$; many islands, 2° ;⁵⁰] and to the west of them the islands of *Pulau Sanbilan Siam*. Then, after them islands and more islands until you come to the island of *Pulau Butang*. This is a large island at $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ P.S., and it is the last of the islands of *Takwa* to the south. Now after them are the islands which you follow when you are close to the mainland, large islands such as the islands of *Lakawi*⁵¹ which are near the mainland, off *Pulau Butang*. After *Penang* in the south are two large, long islands called *Dingding*,⁵² and after these you reach the islands of *Pulau Sanbilan Malacca* and the island of *Bankur Lau*,⁵³ facing *Dingding*. The islands of *Pulau Sanbilan* are at the northern head of a bay, just as those of *Pulau Basalar* are at the southern head of the [same] bay. The islands of *Takwa* are beyond number in three rows, and they are free from all danger,⁵⁴ except that there are *ma'lafat* among them in certain places. As for the route through them, if you leave all of them on the left, the route from *Martaban* to the island of *Fali* is due south; then from *Fali* all of it is SSE. to *Pulau Basalar*, according to the judgment of the navigator; provided that you keep south from *Fali* to *Butom* also, then this is obvious.

f. 88v., l. 6 - f. 90v. l. 1.

[from] *The voyage from Diu to Malacca* ... and when you have passed it [*Sarjal*], take the direction ESE. for four *zam* then take SE. by E. until the Guardians appear at 8° ; then turn due east. Then your mind should be on the current. You will come ashore at first on the island of *Pulau Perak*. This is a small island, the distance between it and the mainland being 8 *zam*. Then from *Perak* you should continue due east and you will reach the island of *Pulau Penang*, if the current⁵⁵ (tide) is not running north. And if you see the current, then turn from here ESE. and you will come to *Penang*, which is a long island, both sides of which are identical and appear black from a short distance. When you have come near to it, steer SSE. to the island of *Pulau Sanbilan*, which means the Nine Islands. Now there will appear to you what seem to be two mountains on the mainland, resembling *Pulau Penang*, and you will think them two islands, and they are between *Pulau Penang* and *Dingding*. These mountains are called *Fan Kura*,⁵⁶ and after these two mountains you will come to *Dingding*, which are two large, long, barren islands. Facing them is the island of *Pankur Lau*, and this is a small, round island. Now *Pulau Penang* and *Dingding* are both near the mainland in shallow water. Then

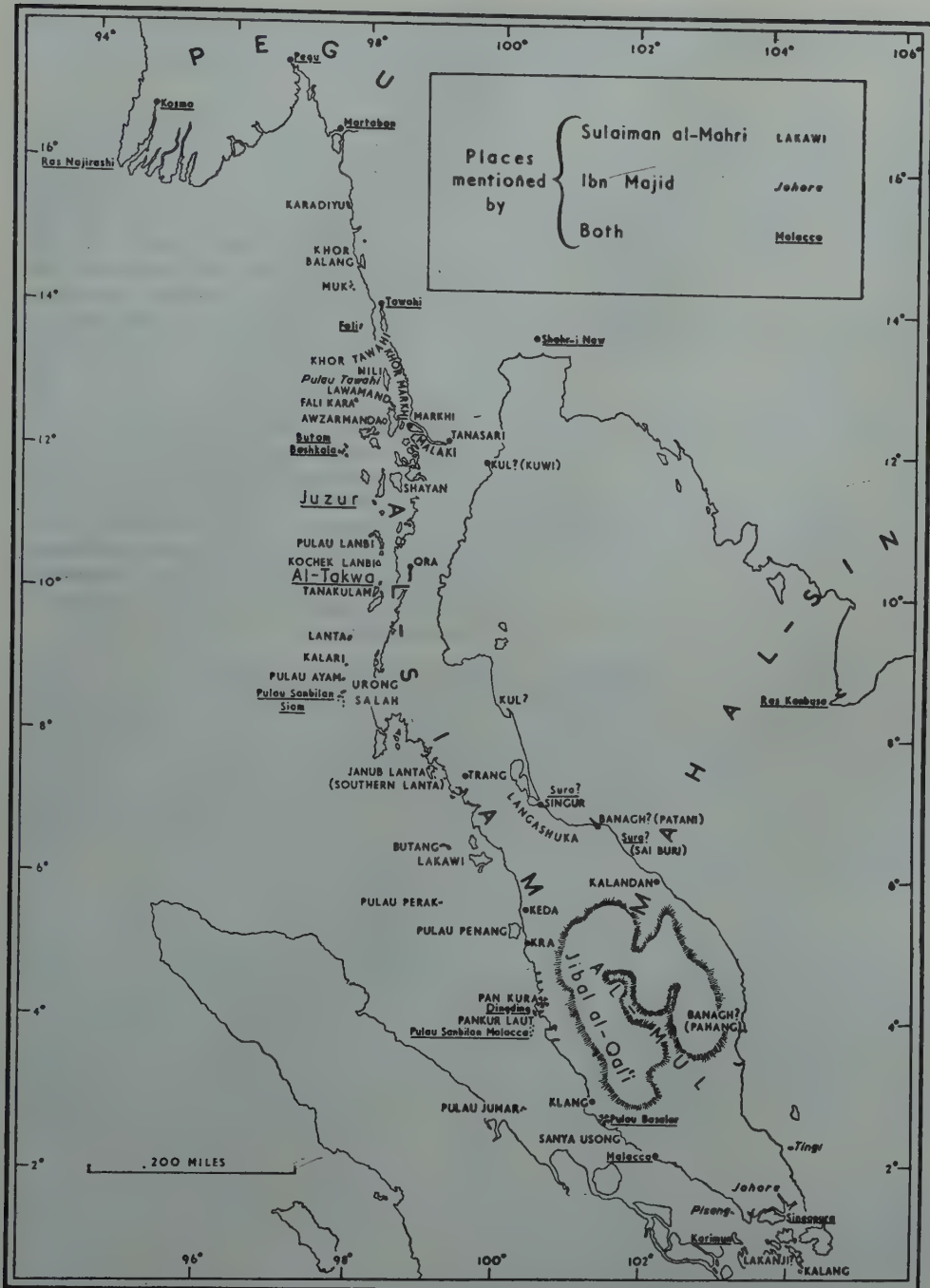


Fig. 2. The Malay Peninsula as known to Arab pilots of the fifteenth century.

after Ding[ding] come the islands of *Sanbilan*, islands of tall mountains, but their areas are small. When you come to them, you can take up water and continue the journey. Then set course from them due south for 6 *zam* and you will come to the island of *Pulau Jumar*. Between *Sanbilan* and *Jumar* the depth is 35 fathoms until you approach *Jumar*; then the water increases, and the depth increases to 40 or 50 fathoms more or less. When you are near *Jumar* you can neither see the mainland of the Peninsula, nor that of Sumatra. But in clear weather you can see the mountains of the Siamese mainland, that is the "tin" mountains.⁵⁷ When you approach *Jumar* turn SE by E. for a *zam* then take ESE. Now, due SE. from the island of *Jumar* there is a bank, over which the waves break, but you continue on your way ESE., the depth decreasing until it reaches 18 fathoms or thereabouts. Continuing ESE., when *Jumar* appears level with the surface of the sea, then you should see directly in front the mountain of *Pulau Basalar*. Still continue ESE. and the depth will be about 16 or 17 fathoms. If it decreases to 15, incline to the right, but if it increases to 18 then incline to the left; you should make this a habit. Now beware of the tide, whenever it is with you and the wind is rough (tricky), then let down the anchor lest the current carry you into shallow water. When you are near *Pulau Basalar*, the mainland which is to the south of it will be visible. Then examine the shallows until it is 8 fathoms, then 7, then 6, and when the depth remains at 9 fathoms or about that, this is the bank of *Qafasi*⁵⁸ which are reefs. When you are on this route continue in the same direction which you have followed since *Jumar*, keeping the boat before you. Keep taking the depth, I mean, when you are in this shallow place with the depth at about 7 or 8 fathoms. You should continue on the above mentioned course, and after these shallows the depth will increase to 15 and 20 and 25.

Now you have escaped [from this], so turn about this time to the land and take a course close to the mainland to the SE. The depth will be about 25 fathoms and in an hour 30 fathoms, then 25, and in another hour 20 fathoms, increasing and decreasing at every sounding by about 5 or 6 fathoms. Notice that the sea bottom rises and falls. Keep on this course and when the tide turns back upon you and the wind is rough, then drop anchor. So continue until you come to Malacca. In front of it you will see the islands of *Pulau Sanba* (?)⁵⁹ and the island of *Ubi*(?).⁶⁰ Boats will then come out to you. Prepare yourself for entering the harbour.

*The journey from Malacca to al-Dib (The Maldives).*⁶¹ When you leave the harbour ride straight out to sea until the depth is 20 or 25 fathoms, for this is the best and easiest method. Then take the direction NW. and the depth 25 fathoms or thereabouts until you see *Pulau Basalar* in the NNE. Then take WNW. and the depth will be between 35 and 20 fathoms. Continue thus until the depth decreases to 15 and then to 7 or 8. You will now find yourself over the above; mentioned bank. Continue straight ahead in the same direction until the depth increases again to about 15, and then go on till you sight *Pulau Jumar* when the depth will be about 30-40 fathoms. Now is the time to turn due north until you come to the islands of *Pulau Sanbilan*, and from *Pulau Sanbilan* take the direction NNW. until *Pulau Penang* appears. Now take WNW. until you reach *Pulau Perak*, and from *Perak* take W by N. for a while, and then due west until the mountains of Sumatra appear, [etc.].

f. 91v. l. 7 - f. 92r. l. 10.

[from] *The voyage from Martaban and Tenasserim.*⁶² ...and after you have passed the island [Cor Nicobar], if you wish to go to Martabān, turn NE by E., and then you will come to the island of *Fali*. Take care of the tide, if you

are to the north, whenever you reach *Fali* or above it. When you come to 5° P.S. or 5½° and you have not sighted a thing, then turn due east to reach the mainland. Come near to it and turn along it till you come to Martabān.

But if you wish to go to Tenasserim, take ENE. from the Nicobars, and you will come to the island of *Fali* [*Kara*].⁶³ Then turn from it to ESE. to the estuary of *Markhi* (Mergui). But if you come to the islands of *Butom Bāshkala* turn due east to the estuary of *Malaki*.⁶⁴ You will find innumerable islands between you and the estuary and they are surrounded with unhealthy places. It is the same from the island of *Fali* to the *Markhi* estuary, but these are larger.

As for Martabān, whenever the islands of *Fali* become visible, or [some land] above them, draw near to the mainland and turn along it, and the depth will be about 12 fathoms. Here on the mainland is the strongest tide current) it is possible to have. This is best(?).

Remark. Tenasserim has two harbours. One of them is *Malaki*, which is 4° P.S. and the other, *Markhi*, which is 4½° P.S. The immediate vicinity of Tenasserim is on the mainland. Thus is Pegu [it also has two harbours]. One of its harbours is Martabān and the other is *Kasma*,⁶⁵ which is in *Najirashi*. It is a large estuary whose most southerly point is *Najirashi*. The vicinity of Pegu is on the mainland like Tenasserim. From Tenasserim is an estuary⁶⁶ which never has rain, being always dry and the people of Tenasserim travel in it to *Shahr-i Naw*. So do the Arabs travel to *Shahr-i Naw*.

f. 67r. l. 9 - f. 71r. l. 6.

[This section deals with place-names in order of latitude from the north towards the equator. The following places in the Malay Peninsula are mentioned].

6° P.S., Martaban; 5¼°, Kārادیū;⁶⁷ 5½°, Khor Balang;⁶⁸ 5¼°, the island of Muk;⁶⁹ 5°, Cape Kanbūsā in China, the estuary (Khor) of Tawāhī, the island of Fālī; 4¾°, the island of Nīlī;⁷⁰ 4½°, the estuary of Markhī, the island of Lāwamand; 4¼°, Awzarmanda; 4°, Banagh⁷¹ of China, the estuary of Malaki, which is Tenasserim, the islands of Butom Bāshkalā; 3¾°, the island of Shayān of the islands of Tākwā; 3½°, Pulau Lanbī; 3¼°, Kochek Lanbī;⁷² 3°, Singūr,⁷³ the port of Qrā;⁷⁴ 2¾°, Pulau Lantā; 2½°, the island of Kalārī; 2¼°, Pulau Ayam; 2°, Langa Shukā,⁷⁵ of the extreme limits of China; the port of Trang;⁷⁶ the islands of Pulau Sanbīlan Siām; 1¾°, the islands of Southern Lantā;⁷⁷ 1½°, the island of Butang; 1°, Lakāwī; 8° of the Guardians (Little Bear) which is 1° P.S., Kalāndan⁷⁸ of China, Kedā, the island of Perak; 7¾°, Krā, together with the island of Penang;⁷⁹ 7½°, the islands of Dingding with the island of Bankūr Lau; 7¼°, Pulau Sanbīlan Malacca; 7°, Klang;⁸⁰ 6¾°, The bay of Qafāsī, the island of Jumar; 6½°, Pulau Bāsalār; 6¼°, Sanyā Usang;⁸¹ 6°, Malacca; 5¾°, the island of Karīmun; 5½°, Lakangi⁸² (Ferrand: Lākandjī); 5¼°, ⁸³Kālang, ⁸⁴5°, Singapūrā, and this is the end of Siam to the South.

NOTES

1. Bonelli, L., "Del Muhit o "Descrizione dei mari delle India" dell'ammiraglio turco Sidi'Ali detto Kiatib-i-Rum," in *Rendicotti della R. Acad. dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie 5, vol. 3 (1894), pp. 751-77. Bittner, M., *Die topographischen Capitel, des indischen Seespiegels Mohit*; maps by W. Tomaschek (Vienna, 1897). The section on South-East Asia is also translated into French by Ferrand in his *Relations des voyages et textes géographiques*, pp. 484-541. His translation is taken from the English translation by Hammer-Purgstall in "Extracts from the Mohit, that is the Ocean, a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian seas," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vols. 3-8 (1834-38). 2. 'There are 210 isba' in a complete circle and 8 zām to 1 isba' according to Tomaschek, but Ferrand would have 224

isba' to 360°. An isba' is approximately 1° 43'. The smallest complete figures are 56 zām = 7 isba' = 12°. 1 zām is very roughly 24 km. or 12 nautical miles. 3. Sandwip in the Ganges delta. Faradib must be a neighbouring island. 4. Chittagong. 5. On f. 65r., l. 1, we have "Zangiliyā (10½° P.S.) is not an island at the present time but a (coral) bank on which the waves break. Towards the sea from it is the southern point of the bank, Kuriyā"; which is marked on early European maps as Choriya, a little south of Chittagong. 6. Cape Negrais. 7. Tavoy. 8. This must be one of the Moscos Islands. It is used as a landmark for Martaban, but has the same latitude as the Tavoy estuary; hence it is probably one of the Southern Moscos. 9. See note 28. 10. This usually means the islands of Sēmbilan off the mouth of the Perak river. In this case this route would be impossible by ship, unless Butom here means Pulau Butang which is often written Butom by early European navigators. Otherwise a section has been omitted by haplology, because of the resemblance between Pulau Sanbilan Siām and Pulau Sanbilan Malacca. See note 34. 11. This is the largest of the Aroa Islands in the Straits of Malacca. Although the name does not appear on modern maps, it occurs frequently on eighteenth and nineteenth century charts. It is called Pulau Jemur in the *Malacca Strait Pilot* (1934). 12. This section in round brackets is added in the margin in a different hand. It appears in the Muhit. 13. The hill known as Mt. Parcelar in Sēlangor on the south of the Klang estuary. It is now known as Bukit Jugra. 14. al-Farqadān, Beta and Gamma Ursae Minoris. See the introduction to the translation and note 2 above. The whole question of measuring latitudes by the Little Bear has been discussed by De Saussure in Ferrand's *Instructions nautiques*, vol. 3, pp. 129-75. Ferrand gives Tomaschek's figures in *Relation des voyages*, pp. 494-5. 6¾ isba' of the Little Bear is 3° N; 8 isba' of the Little Bear is 6° N, which is 1 isba' of the Pole Star. Working from this at the rate of 1¾ isba' to 3°, we have a latitude of 51' for Singapore. The actual latitude of Singapore is 1° 17'. 15. al-Sin wa Mā'l-Sin; a later way of rendering the Chinese empire in Arabic. It is derived from the Sanskrit Cina Mahācina, (lit. China of the Great China) via Persian Chīn Māchīn. The earlier Arabic form was Sin al-Sin. The eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula was included in Greater China and the western coast in Siam. 16. The latitude given to this place would read according to Tomaschek (see note 14) 11° 18', but this must be far too much to the north. If we allow one isba' to be 1° 43', and start from the equator, the latitude of Banagh would be 6° 52', i.e., approximately on the latitude of Patani. The Arabic could be read Batani. On the other hand the direction given from Singapore would indicate a place on the bulge of the Peninsula, somewhere in southern Trengganu. I prefer to read Pahang for this word, as it is much more likely that this would be the first port of call after leaving Singapore, and compare note 44. 17. Latitude according to Tomaschek 11° 34'; my own unscientific version based on the principles given in the previous note, 7° 18' approximately that of Singora. The direction from South Trengganu (NNW.) would lead one to the Saiburi or Yering districts of Siam, to the south-east of Patani. On f. 69r., l. 3, Sanjūr is given but at a different latitude, namely 3° P.S. Tomaschek's rendering of this would be 9° 26' which is still too far north. The use of this form in this passage and no mention of Surā favours the hypothesis that Surā is really a corrupted form of Sanjur or Sanjurā. Early European maps do not help. A Tanjong Sura exists in S. Trengganu. It will be noticed that errors in Arab latitudes based on Tomaschek become much greater nearer the Equator where it was difficult to measure the Pole Star accurately; but even at higher latitudes they are not very accurate. 18. P.S. Henceforth an abbreviation for Pole Star. 19. This is also the reading of the Muhit, but Ferrand would read Kwī, which appears in all early European maps under the Portuguese form of Cui. Modern maps have M. Kuwi, latitude 12° 05'. Tomaschek's reading is 12° N. which is close to the real latitude (too close when we compare Tomaschek's readings for other places). This hardly agrees with the bearing given, which gets nearer to the West point with each port of call. To reach Kuwi one would have to revert to a more northerly bearing. Ligor would fit the bearing much better. The term ghubbah, a bay, would also fit in well with Ligor. 20. Shahr-i naw is Persian for 'the New City'. Cordier in Yule's *Cathay and the way thither*, vol. 2, p. 124, couples it with Sarnau and Sornau of Varthema, and a name often given to Siam in the early part of the sixteenth century. Hobson-Jobson equate it with Ayuthia and Cordier suggests Lopburi, once a capital of Siam, the Sanskrit or Pali form of which was Nava-pura, which means the same as Shahr-i naw. Tomaschek's latitude is 13° 43'. It is obviously a Siamese city near the Chao Phraya delta, although early European maps place Sarnau to the west and a little way down the peninsula. The best means of locating the place is again the compass bearing. The mouth of the Chao Phraya is due north of Singora, and a little east of north from Yering and Saiburi. 21. Caman Point or P. de Camboia of the Portuguese. Something has definitely gone wrong with the bearing here. Tomaschek's latitude is 12° 51'. Starting from the equator we have 8° 35'. 22. The ms. gives 5½° P.S. but the word wanasā seems to have deleted by two strokes.

The *Muḥit* says 5°. 23. This word seems to be applied to the whole of the islands off the west coast of Siam as far as the island of Butang. *Tākwā* appears today in the forms *Takuapa* and *Takuatung*, both towns on this part of the Siamese coast. *Takuapa* is also the name of the coastal province which stretches to Junk Ceylon. The Siamese word *takua* is used to mean a black metal, and is sometimes applied to lead or tin. Early European maps do not give a name to the archipelago. *Tākwā* never seems to be used by Europeans for the islands. 24. Both the latitude and its position as a landmark for entering the Mergui estuary point to the island of Cabosa, but it might be Tenasserim Island. Both of these islands were known by name to early European travellers, and it is strange that neither of them is mentioned by the Arabs, especially as the Arabs knew the name Tenasserim when applied to the town. 25. Cannot be identified accurately, but its position opposite the Mergui estuary would make it Iron Island (also called *Thamihlagyun*) or King Island. There are numerous large islands in this part of the archipelago: King I., Elphinstone I., Ross I., Sellore I., Bentinck I., and Domel I., and only three names are given by the Arabs which are suitable for them. These are *Lāwāmānd* *Awzārmandā* and *Butom Bāshkalā*. 26. The harbour of Mergui. The *Muḥit* has *Mawazi* which Ferrand writes *Maragī*. 27. *Awramanda*; its position between *Lāwāmānd* and *Shayan*, would make it either King Island or Sellore Island, but the Neclay (*Malakī*) channel to Tenasserim passes between it and *Shayān*. Therefore King Island is the most likely. 28. The *mṛp* which appears in Alexander Hamilton's work gives Bouton for the island nearest the open sea, opposite Mergui and Tenasserim, but he does not mention it in his text. Early eighteenth-century maps show Bouton between Hattley I. in the south and Crara in the north. It seems to have been north of the Torres Islands, but in the chain of outer islands. Sulaiman makes it four islands. I suggest the Bailey-Sargent group. 29. Probably Kisserang Island which the Selungs call *Chai-an* (White, W.G., *The sea gypsies of Malaya*, London, 1922, p. 57). 30. *Līmī* also the reading of the *Muḥit*. Ferrand reads *Lanbī* which is the large island of Lampi, otherwise known as Sullivan Island. 31. This must be St. Matthew Island. It is the largest island between Lampi and Chance islands and on the same latitude as Kra (f. 69r., l. 3, *Qrā*). 32. On some of the sixteenth-century Portuguese maps Pulau Lanta is marked between St. Matthew Island and Junk Ceylon. This would make it Chance Island, known in Siamese as *Goh Sindarar*, or perhaps one of the islands at the mouth of the *Takuapa* River. The latter suggestion is the least likely because of the note appearing later in the text that P. Lanta is 2 *zām* off the north cape of Junk Ceylon (i.e., 30 odd miles). Chance Island is about 30 miles off the mainland. P. Lanta is the only island of the *Tākwā* group which is said to be inhabited. Chance Island is not the most ideal of the Mergui archipelago for human habitation. A Pulau Lantur exists south of Junk Ceylon, which is known as Pulau Lanta on some eighteenth-century charts, but it is not this particular island. See note 77. 33. This island by its position must be the modern Middle Island (*Goh Tasai*) south of Chance Island. The *Clara* Island which is known as *Crara* on some early Portuguese charts has a similar name but is rather too far to the north to be the *Kalāri* of the text. It is difficult to compare the details of the text with a modern map. This version (*al-'Umdat al-Mahriyah*) shows three lines of islands; *Lantā* - *Kalāri* - *Ayam* in a north-south line with Pulau *Sanbilan* to the west ranging south from the latitude of Pulau *Kalāri*, and Junk Ceylon on the east ranging from the latitude of Pulau *Lantā* southwards to the same limit (2 *isba'*) as Pulau *Sanbilan*. The other version, (*al-Minhaj al-fākhir*, f. 77v.) has *Lantā* - *Kahadī* (*Kalāri*?) - *Ayam* followed by many islands to the south, with Pulau *Sanbilan* to the west of the 'many islands' (or facing the whole lot?) and no mention of Junk Ceylon. In actual fact there are three lines; Chance Island—Middle I.—Perforated I., followed by the Sayer Islands (Pulau *Sanbilan*); then a group of islands to the east starting from Victoria Point and merging at the *Takuapa* mouth with the mainland; and then the mainland continuing south to Junk Ceylon. Latitudes according to Tomaschek are *Lantā*, 9° N.; *Kalāri*, 8° 34'; *Ayam*, 8° 18'; Pulau *Sanbilan*, 7° 43' - 8° 34'; Junk Ceylon 7° 43' - 9° N. 34. Pulau *Sanbilan* *Siām* to distinguish it from Pulau *Sanbilan* Malacca, the islands near the mouth of the Perak River. *Sanbilan* stands for the Malay, *Sēmbilan* meaning 'nine'. The translation is given several times in the text. The northern Pulau *Sanbilan* are the islands known as the *Similan* Islands in the Bay of Bengal Pilot, and in Siamese as *Goh Similan*. In most modern atlases they are called the Sayer Islands. Early European maps have Pulo *Sambilaom* (Mercator), Pulo *cābilā* *siao* or similar forms. See also note 33. 35. Perhaps Perforated Island (*Goh Born*). See also note 33. 36. *Urang* (*Orang*) *Sālah*, or it might be read *Uzang Sālah*. This is *Ujong Salang*, also called Junk Ceylon or Phuket Island. From the description in the text it seems that the Arabs imagined all the coastal islands of the *Takuapa* mouth to be part of Junk Ceylon. Thus the northern point, at the same latitude as P. *Lantā* (Chance I.) and 2 *zām* to the east, would be the northern point of *Goh Rah*, the northernmost of the islands around *Takuapa* and about 30 miles from Chance I. The southern point (*Pagoda Pt.*) is 4 *zām* from the southernmost point of the *Sanbilan* Islands.

It is about 65-70 miles, but not due west, as in the text. See also note 33. 37. *Fang* in the MS., also in the *Muhit*. But in other parts of the text we have two ns (although always unpunctuated) for *Finang* or *Penang*. The text has obviously transposed the two names *Finang* and *Butang* (see note 38) for *al-Minhaj al-fākhir* has the latitude of *Butang* as $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ P.S. The latitude of *Penang* would then be 1° P.S. and this part of the text should read, 'Beyond *Urang Sālah*, when you travel SE. you come to a large island called *Butang* at $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ P.S., and after this another island called *Penang* at 1° P.S.' 38. *Binang*, wrongly pointed for *Butang*. The *Muhit* has *Bung*, which Ferrand reads *Butang*. 39. From descriptions given elsewhere by *Sulaimān al-Mahri*, where he states that it is the largest and most southerly of the Nicobar Islands, this is obviously Great Nicobar. This name does not bear comparison with anything on European maps. 40. The text seems to have *fi al-mughārib* which may have the sense of 'in the west', but it might be a very badly written *fi al-muqārib*, i.e., 'in the neighbourhood'. There are no islands between *Pulau Sembilan* and the *Aroa* islands other than *Pulau Jarrak* which may be meant, or the Western *Aroas*, which are so close to *P. Jumar* that they are unimportant as landmarks for our course. 41. Sometimes *Faqāsi* Ferrand called it *Kafāsi*. I have transliterated it *Qafāsi* as this occurs in the majority of cases. The meaning of the word is unknown. It obviously applies to the shallows crossed at the passage between the North Sands and the South Sands. D'Albuquerque calls it *Capacia* in his Commentaries (v. 3, Cn. xvi & xlii). 42. *Pulau Angsa* or *Pulau Anak Angsa* off the coast of *Selangor* and north of the *Klang* delta. The bank here today is known as *Angsa Bank*. If this is part of the bank of *Qafāsi*, then *Qafāsi* must be a term applied to the whole of the North Sands and perhaps the South Sands too. This route is the more dangerous route and runs more or less parallel to the coast, instead of turning at an angle towards the *Aroa* Islands. 43. *Penang* is meant here. 44. This is the only time this word is used by *Sulaiman*. Even here it occurs only in the heading and not in the text. The text again mentions *Banagh*. See note 16. For 'China' here the text has *Māh wa'l-Sin*, another corruption of *Mahacina*. See note 15. 45. The text is unpunctuated and has *Sn'* the first time and *Bn'* the second time. This is *Banagh* of the earlier paragraph. 46. The text has *Bākwa* throughout. 47. *Fālī*, sometimes called *Fālī*. 48. *Kayni* for *Lini* of the earlier text = *Labni*. See note 30. 49. Text has *Batakulam*. See note 31. 50. The text has a standard formula here, so the translation has been abbreviated. The 'many islands' cannot be identified. See note 33. 51. *Langkawi Is.* 52. *Ding Ding*. *Ibn Mājid* has *Dang Dang*. 53. This word occurs twice and is unpunctuated in both cases. Ferrand transliterates it *Tanbūrak*. The first two letters could be *Hn*, or the whole could be *Sūrak*, which might represent *P. Jarrak*. I think the most plausible answer is that this is a telescoping of the words for *Pangkor Laut*. 54. Lit. 'dirty, unhealthy places'. Ferrand compares it to the French 'malsain' (*L'Empire sumatranais*). The root of *ma'lafāt* means 'to give fodder to cattle'. 55. *al-madd*. This usually means the ebb-tide or low tide, but in certain cases it seems to mean 'the current' and can be better translated as such. 56. *Pulau Pangkor*, off the *Dindings*. Actually what is mentioned here is *False Dindings*, the two peaks of *Bukit Segari*, which resemble *Pulau Pangkor*. 57. The mainland is called *al-mul* (see Ferrand, G., "L'élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes," *Journal Asiatique*, t. 204, 1924, p. 222-30). The mountains are called *jibāl mul al-Siyām*, 'Mountains of the mainland of Siam'. This is followed in apposition by *jibāl al-qal'i*, 'the *Qal'i* mountains', or 'tin mountains'. 58. See note 41. 59. Unpunctuated. *Ibn Mājid* has *Sabta* (ms 2292, f.104v., 14). Ferrand, "Le Kouen-Louen," p. 54, n.1, identifies it with *P. Sapata*. 60. Unpunctuated. Perhaps *P. Upeh*. 61. From the Sanskrit 'dvīpa' meaning land with water on two or more sides, and which forms the second syllable of the English form of the name, *Maldives*. 62. The title says from *Martaban* and *Tenasserim*, but the text describes a voyage from *Ceylon* to *Martaban* and *Tenasserim*. 63. When heading for *Martaban*, you leave *Cor Nicobar* NE by E. and reach *Fālī*. If, therefore, when you head for *Tenasserim* from the *Nicobars*, ENE., it is most unlikely that you will still reach the same *Fālī*. The other island, *Fālī Karā* must be meant here. 64. The *Arabs* seem to have transposed two consonants here. The other entrance to the *Tenasserim* river is via the *Neclay* river. The Arabic should read *Maklay*. 65. *Ksmy*. This must be the port *Cosmin* mentioned on early European charts. This is either the modern *Bassein* or some place near by. The Arabic might have been *Ksmn*. 66. The word *Khōr* is used. This may be the estuary of the *Tenasserim* River, but it is more likely to be a reference to the *Gulf of Siam* and a route across the isthmus from *Tenasserim*. 67. The *divu* element is again the Sanskrit word for island 'dvīpa'. This place must be the island of *Kaleyauc*. 68. *Heinze chaung*, or the *Ye River*. *Ye* is also known as *Yemalaing*. There is no place with a similar name on this coast, either in modern maps or in the maps of the early European travellers. 69. The northern or *Middle Moscos*. *Muk* is either the equivalent of the word *Moscos* or the word *Bok*, which is used for most of the northern group. (Early European maps mark the *I. de Moro*, which is probably the same. There was also a town of *Moro*). 70. This must be *Tavoy Island*, which is also known as *Mali* or *Meli*. 71. This latitude is far too high. See note 16.

72. *Kōshek Labta*. *Kōshek* is Persian for 'little', hence 'Little Lambi'. This must be James Island to the south of Lambi Island. 73. See note 17. 74. *Bandar Qra*. Modern Kra on the Pakchan river, from which the isthmus is named. 75. This is the only Arab reference to the Indian state often mentioned in Indian and Chinese records of the previous centuries. The position given (Tomaschek 7° 43') is too far north, being north of Singora which the text itself puts 1 isba' to the north. *Langashukā* is between Singora and Kēlantān according to the text. 76. *Bandar Tranj*. 77. *Juzur Janub Lanta*. These are the islands known as Lantur on modern maps, SE. of Junk Ceylon. Eighteenth and nineteenth century maps know them as *Lanta*, and sometimes as *Lontar*. 78. *Kēlantān*. 79. Pulau Kra off the coast of Province Wellesley. Pulau Penang is unpointed and has been telescoped, but Penang is definitely meant here. 80. Text has *Kali'*. 81. The last word is unpointed and is probably meant to be *Usang*. The first is pointed *Sina*. This is the *Sanghyang Hujung* of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, and the *Sungei Ujong* of more modern times. 82. *Lakikhi*, *Lakiji* or *Lakangi*; it must be somewhere between Karimon and Galang but cannot be identified. 83. The text has *Singapur* written between the 5 and the 4. Obviously the author or copyist had better ideas as to the location of Singapore, and this is an attempt to insert it in its proper place. It is in the same handwriting and ink as the rest of the text. The author must have originally considered the Riau Archipelago as part of the Peninsula, or at least that part of it west of the Riau Strait. He sailed right round Pulau Galang to reach Singapore. 84. Pulau Galang in the Riau Archipelago.

II. SHIHAB *al-DIN AHMAD IBN MAJID*

From *HAWIYAT al-IKHTISAR FI 'ILM al-BIHAR* (MS. 2292)

ff. 103r.; l.3-103v. l.15

The best known opinion from Negrais to *Buttom* is to follow the Scorpion,¹ O traveller.

From Cape Negrais to the island of *Fali*, is to aim eastwards,² said al Sūmālī.³

From Cape Negrais to Martaban, by the Dog-star's⁴ rising, O Captain;⁵

Now Cape Martaban juts outwards, be informed, the whole, this side of Siam; Between them is a bay of little water. Beware lest you steer towards Orion⁶

If you desire not Pegu and *Cosmin*,⁷ leave not the passage set by the Dog-star

To Martaban and then to *Bataqalah*,⁸ your course be true south with no change

And from *Pulau Tawabi*⁹ to *Buttom* set a safe course by the rising of Canopus,¹⁰

Also for *Takwa*, O Captain, which are numerous islands but not alike

And he who would make *Takwa* from *Buttom* and sets course on its rising,¹¹ will profit

By my observations. Understand the courses set by the rising of Canopus and doubt not.

And for the best opinion take my word; from *Buttom* is due south to *Takwa Strait*

And if you, O reader, would leave the islands of *Pulau Sanbilan*,

Navigate by the rising of the Scorpion's heart¹² to *Qafasi*, and you will come to grief.

For from *Dang Dang* (for Dingding) and *Pulau Sanbilan*, between which is an *isba'*, then deviate not.

And as for the route to Johore, this fortress, and to *Berbala*,¹³ know it is by Canopus.

As for Sumatra, O my brother, when you have sailed from *Takwa* by the Southern Cross,¹⁴ you will approach it.

And another said, the most obvious path to Sumatra, our pole should be that of Canopus.¹⁵

And if you should desire from Sumatra to aim for China, when you travel,

Set course by the 'Crown'¹⁶ rejoicing to *Berbala* also with Johore;

And if you would leave these behind set the compass on the small Dog-star,¹⁷ and be not slow

To *Mal'aaq*,¹⁸ Listen to my positions, and the water will be ten fathoms.

He will come together before Malacca, and perceive *Fal Fasalar*¹⁹ with *al-Qafas*, and know

Fal Fasalar is a mountain and *Qafasi*, it is an abundance of shallows in the water.

Wherein are gaps, O my brother, when you see *Fal Fasalar* with 'Simak'²⁰ then give thanks

And if you desire the land of Malacca, then rely upon the small star of the Dog Till near *Singapur* and travel from there towards *Tinggi*²¹ by the Great Bear.²²

Then steer from *Tinggi* in the direction of *Sura* by the setting of the famous seven.²³

Due north from *Sura* to *Shar-i naw*, to the right or the left is no use.

From *Shahr-i naw* to *Kanbusa* by the Scorpion is your route, by its rising, not setting

From there steer to *Champa*²⁴ by the rising of the Great Bear.

1. Superior numbers refer to notes on p. 59.

ff 104v. ll. 3-8.

From Malacca, if you would travel towards Java, understand these directions: Set course by the Scorpion and go safely until you have left *Sapata Island*.

After this, by the 'Crown', to near the end of the path.²⁵

Then you see before you in the route, Pisang,²⁶ with the strait²⁷ of Karimon: these are islands.

Then go and do not cease to sound when coming to this island.

There are six fathoms at *Salat Zanjī*²⁸ [etc.].

ff 110v. l. 11-111v. l. 8.

This section deals with places in order of latitude. The following places in the Malay Peninsula are given:—

At 5° P.S., *Fali* and *Shahr-i naw*; 4° P.S., Tenasserim; 3° P.S., *Takwa*; 1° P.S., *Talang* (Penang or Butang), *Dang Dang* (Dingding); 6° of the Little Bear, Malacca, *Berbala* and *Singapur*.

NOTES

1. The Scorpion is Antares or Akrah in the constellation of the Scorpion. Its rising was used to indicate the compass bearing SE. Sulaiman al-Mahri makes this particular case SSE. 2. *Matla'* means 'rising' and is usually followed by the name of a constellation. The direction must be S.E. 3. The Somali. Unidentified. 4. ESE. 5. Rubbān, the captain of a ship. 6. Rigel; the direction is E by S. 7. Kashmir but Cosmin (Sulaimān al-Mahri has *Kasma*) is meant. 8. Bengal (?) but not the usual spelling and certainly not the right direction. I have read *al-Bataqalah*. It could then be the *Bāshkalā* of Sulaimān al-Mahri. 9. The island is not mentioned by Sulaimān al-Mahri, except possibly in the form of *Nili*. 10. *Suhail*, which is Canopus. Its rising is the bearing for SSE., its setting for SSW., the pole of Canopus, is the term used for the South Pole. This bearing is wrong, if we compare this with Sulaimān al-Mahri. Its setting would be better. 11. Constellation not mentioned, presumably Canopus, i.e., continuing in the same direction. 12. SE. Here *Pulau Sambilan* means '*Pulau Sanbilan Malacca*'. 13. *Berbala* is an island off Sumatra's east coast almost opposite the mouth of the Bernam river. 14. *Sullabar*, S by E, or S by W. The identification with the Southern Cross is doubtful. 15. Due south. 16. *Iklil*. Part of the constellation Scorpio. Bearing SE by E. 17. The small star of the Dog. Identity unknown, unless it is Procyon. The bearing is probably the same as for Sirius, ESE. 18. The spoon (?), unless this is a strange spelling of Malacca. 19. *Pulau Bāsālār* of Sulaimān al-Mahri. 20. Arcturus. The bearing is ENE. 21. *Taik*. But must be *Pulau Tinggi* off the east coast of Malaya, which Ibn Mājid uses in place of Sulaimān's *Banagh*. 22. The Plough; bearing for its setting is NNW., and for its rising, NNE. 23. The seven stars of the Plough. 24. *Shanpa'*. Sulaiman al-Mahri spells it *Shanbā*. 25. The extremity of the Malay Peninsula. 26. *Pulau Pisang*. 27. *Salat*. The Malay word *Selat* meaning 'strait'. 28. Ferrand ("Le K'ouen-louen", J.A., t. 14, p. 54) equates this with *Selat Sinki*, the strait between the islands SW. of Singapore, also called *Selat Pandan*. The next island is Billiton, so this can hardly be right. But it is possible that this is the origin of the *Lākanji* of Sulaimān al-Mahri. See note 82.

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MALAYAN AND SUMATRAN PLACE-NAMES IN CLASSICAL MALAY LITERATURE

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These maps are meant as aids to the study of what might be called 'the Malay period' in the history of Malaya, that is to say, the period beginning with the semi-legendary kingdom of *Tumasik* (probably present-day Singapore), and ending with the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese in 1511. However, the exigencies of space and time have not been adhered to very rigidly. The Malacca Sultanate had, for example, such close ties with Sumatra, that it was thought desirable to include a separate map of that island and of the Riau-Lingga Archipelago. Moreover, after the fall of Malacca the Malay dynasty of that state continued to rule over Bentan and Johore, so the early post-Malacca period has also been taken into account. The *Malay Annals* are the major Malay source for the historical geography of these regions, of Malacca and of neighbouring areas on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, but these *Annals* deal only briefly with northern Malaya. As it was felt that these truly Malay areas (present-day Kēdah, Kēlantan, and Trēngganu) should not be left entirely out of consideration, literary sources of a later date have been consulted for the geography of those regions. All names plotted on the maps have been taken from Malay literary sources; that is, we did not plot the locality of archaeological sites known to present-day scholars but not mentioned in Malay literature. Thus all geographical names on the maps are taken from Malay works (and from one Javanese poem) dealing with the period with which we are concerned, that is, very roughly from about the fourteenth to the late sixteenth century A.D. for south-west Malaya and Sumatra and into the eighteenth century for the north-eastern states.

The following works were used in the compilation of the maps:

- (1) The single Javanese poem just mentioned: the *Nagarakrtagama* written by Prapanca at the Majapahit court in A.D. 1365. Cantos 13 and 14 list the Sumatran and Malayan dependencies of Majapahit. We used the edition, with Dutch translation and commentary, by H. Kern, published in his *Verspreide Geschriften*, Volumes 7 and 8 (The Hague, 1917 *et seq.*)

The Malay works used were as follows:

- (2) *Sējarah Mēlayu* or "Malay Annals", viz., the edition based on MS. *Raffles 18* in the library of *The Royal Asiatic Society* (London), published by Sir Richard Winstedt in *The Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 16, pt. 3 (Singapore, 1938), and translated by C. C. Brown in *JMBRAS.*, vol. 25, pts. 2 and 3 (1952). This work has been tentatively dated as A.D. 1536.
- (3) *Hikayat Hang Tuah*, edited by W. Shellabear in the *Malay Literature Series*, No. 3, 4 vols. Romanized version (Singapore, 1908-9).
- (4) *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, edited by J. P. Mead in *The Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 66 (Singapore, 1914). Possibly of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century.
- (5) *Bustan as-Salatin*, a fragment published and edited by Sir Richard Winstedt in *JSBRAS.*, vol. 81 (1920). Written in Aceh by Nuruddin ar-Raniri in or after 1638.
- (6) *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* or *Kedah Annals*, edited by A. J. Sturrock in *JSBRAS.*, vol. 74 (1916). This work consists of legends rather than

annals. The text was probably compiled in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

- (7) *History of Kēlantan and Trēngganu*, partly published and edited by H. Marriott in *JSBRAS.*, vol. 72 (1916). This work was written in 1876, but deals mainly with events from about 1770 to 1835.

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The place-names occurring in these texts can be classified in four groups.

- (1) Names of which the very reading is doubtful. Many manuscripts are far from clear, thus making it possible for a word to be read in different ways. Moreover, the Arabic-Malay script uses neither vowel signs nor punctuation, factors making for obscurity and affording the student great latitude in his reading of the names in the manuscripts. We shall only list under this category those names which have actually been subjected to varying readings, but a number of names listed under (2) and (3) might well come under this heading too.
- (2) Names which we are quite unable to identify and which, therefore, do not occur on our map.
- (3) Names which we cannot identify with certainty, but which indicate a locality the whereabouts of which is roughly apparent from the context. Of course, the boundary between group (2) and group (3) is vague. We might have risked transferring some names from (2) to (3), and a more cautious person might have preferred to retain several of our (3) words under (2). On the whole we have been guided by a purely practical consideration: when the approximate location is clear from the context, and the possible error in actual plotting remains insignificant on a map of this scale, we include the place under (3).

A number of geographical names refer to various localities. Many Malay place-names are descriptive, so that one encounters scores of places called, for instance, *Ayēr Hitam* (Black Water), *Batu Hamṡar* (Recumbent Stone), *Panchor* (Conduit), etc. Here again the context often indicates which particular place is meant.

Langkasuka is a special case. The *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa* implies that this place was situated at the foot of Kēdah Peak (Sturrock, op. cit., pp. 37-123), but Chinese and Arab sailing directions show that it was actually on the east coast of the Peninsula in the vicinity of Patani [Sir Roland Braddell, "Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya", *JMBRAS.*, vol 23, (1950), pp. 1-36 and P. Wheatley, "Langkasuka", *T'oung Pao* (1956)]. We have, therefore, plotted *Langkasuka* in this latter position.

- (4) Names which can be located with considerable or complete certainty.

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We shall now list all the names occurring in the works used, classified under the above four headings, and arranged according to the work in which they occur.

1. DOUBTFUL READINGS

(i) *Nagarakrtagama*

Saimwang. Would be present-day Semong according to phonetic laws, but O. Blagden (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1928, p. 915) reads *Sai mwang* (*mwang* = 'and'). On the map we mark both *Semong* (in present-day Nēgri Sēmbilan) and *Sai* (= Saiburi).

Pakamuwar, Dungun. Thus in Kern's edition. Rouffaer (*Bijdragen Koninklijk Instituut*, vol. 57, The Hague, 1921, pp. 94-6) conjectures *Paka*, *Muwar, Dungun.* We prefer the reading *Paka, Muwarë Dungun.*

Kanjapiniran. Rouffaer reads *Kanjap, i Niran* (*i* marks the locative). His identification of these places is open to doubt: *vide* N. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, (The Hague; 2nd edition, 1931), pp. 41 *et seq.*

(ii) *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*

Kĕrumutan (possibly = *Kĕtĕman*).

Layam (possibly = *Layang*).

Lubok Pĕlĕtang (possibly = *L. Mĕntĕnang*. At first glance this emendation may seem far-fetched, but when written in Arabic script the difference is slight).

Mĕrlang (possibly = *Mĕrlung*).

Panchor Sĕrapong, or perhaps two words: *Panchor, Sĕrapong.* (*vide* R. Winstedt, *JMBRAS.*, vol. 10, 1932, p. 7).

Sĕlat Sambar (possibly = *S. Sĕmbur* or *Sambu*).

Shuir, Suir (perhaps = *Soi, Sui*).

Tanjong Bĕmban (Winstedt; Brown); *Bĕmban* (Shellabear). (Possibly = present-day Boyan).

Tĕngkilu (probably = *Tĕngkalat*).

(iii) *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*

Jamban (possibly = *Jambi*).

[*Ulu*] *Karang* (possibly = *Kiran*).

Lubok Turi (possibly = *Lubok Tura*).

(iv) *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*

Bukit Tanjong (probably = *Bukit Tunjang*).

Pulau Kĕring (possibly = *Pulau Kĕriang*).

Siam Lanchang (possibly = present-day *Sanglang*).

(v) *History of Kĕlantan and Trĕngganu*

Bĕladu (possibly = *Bĕlara*).

Lĕbar (probably = *Lĕbir*).

Tapong (possibly = *Tangok*).

2. UNIDENTIFIABLE

(i) *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*

<i>Apong</i>	<i>Dĕndang</i>	<i>Mĕrba</i>	<i>Tambak</i>
<i>Bĕntayan</i>	<i>Dada Ayĕr</i>	<i>Muda</i>	<i>Tĕkuni</i>
<i>Bĕntan Karangan</i>	<i>Dĕmpok</i>	<i>Sanggong</i>	<i>Tĕlok Tĕrni</i>
<i>Buru</i>	<i>Lubok</i>	<i>Sudar</i>	<i>Tĕntai</i>

(ii) *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*

<i>Miar</i>	<i>Rama Kĕndi</i>	<i>Sĕmĕnda</i>
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(iii) *History of Kĕlantan and Trĕngganu*

<i>Bĕnara</i>	<i>Kĕbur</i>	<i>Pulau Bĕluru</i>	<i>Pĕkan</i>
<i>Dunab</i>	<i>Kampong Sireh</i>	<i>Pulau Saba</i>	<i>Tandun</i>
<i>Gagap</i>	<i>Kĕluĕan</i>	<i>Pĕrtang</i>	
<i>Hulni</i>	<i>Kampong Bukit</i>	<i>Pulau Kĕtam</i>	



Fig. 1. The Malay Peninsula: place-names from classical Malay literature.

3. LOCATION DOUBTFUL OR INFERRED FROM CONTEXT

In the first place, all names listed under (1) also come under this heading. In addition to these:

(i) *Nagarakrtagama*

<i>Karintang</i>	<i>Kandis</i>	<i>Kampe</i>	<i>Batan</i>
<i>Tēba</i>	<i>Kabwas</i>	<i>Lwas</i>	<i>Nacor</i>

(For these places see the remarks by Krom, *op. cit.* p. 416, footnote 1).

(ii) *Sējarah Mēlayu*

<i>Ayēr Hitam</i>	<i>Batu Bēlah</i>	<i>Manjong</i>	<i>Pulau Kēban</i>
<i>Batu Hampar</i>	<i>Kayu Ara</i>	<i>Mērbau</i>	<i>Pulau Sabat</i>
<i>Biawak Busok</i>	<i>Labohan Jong</i>	<i>Pasir Raja</i>	<i>Punggor</i>
<i>Bukit Pantau</i>	<i>Lubok Batu</i>	<i>Pēngkalan Dungun</i>	<i>Tanjong Barus</i>
<i>Rēbat</i> (named "Place of the Boom" in the translation).			
<i>Tanjong Batu</i> (named "Cape of the Rock" in the translation).			
<i>Tanjong Rungas</i>			
<i>Tanjong Jati</i> (named "Teakwood Head" in the translation).			
<i>Ungaran</i>			

(iii) *Hikayat Hang Tuah*

Pulau Sakti

(iv) *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*

<i>Bēlatak</i>	<i>Baras</i>	<i>Mēnduga</i>	<i>Rimba Jērau</i>
<i>Tukas</i>			

(v) *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*

<i>Bukit Lada</i>	<i>Kērbau Kampong</i>	<i>Pēkērsang</i>	<i>Langkasuka</i>
<i>Bukit Pēnjara</i>	<i>Kumat</i>	<i>Tanjong Ara</i>	<i>Pulau Kērabang</i>
<i>Kota Aur</i>	<i>Lubok Sanggong</i>	<i>Tēlok Tēria</i>	<i>Pulau Indra Sakti</i>
<i>Buloh Tēlang</i>	<i>Pantai Minggu</i>	<i>Tēlawas</i>	<i>Palas</i>
<i>Pulau Lada</i> (cf. <i>Bukit Lada</i>)		<i>Sērukum</i>	

(vi) *History of Kēlantan and Trēngganu*

<i>Ja Bēsar</i>	<i>Kampong Raja</i>	<i>Lēkub Titian Papan</i>	<i>Sukui</i>
<i>Kota Tras</i>	<i>Lubok Limau Nipis</i>	<i>Pulau Kētiti</i>	<i>Tikat</i>
<i>Kēnali</i>			

4. LOCATION MORE CERTAIN THAN IN THE CASE OF NAMES UNDER (3) OR COMPLETELY CERTAIN.

All the remaining places, viz:

(i) *Nagarakrtagama*

<i>Jambi</i>	<i>Panc</i>	<i>Lampung</i>	<i>Sanghyang Hujung</i>
<i>Palembang</i>	<i>Haru</i>	<i>Barus</i>	<i>Kēlang</i>
<i>Dharmmacraya</i>	<i>Mandahiling</i>	<i>Pabang</i>	<i>Kēda</i>
<i>Manangkabwa</i>	<i>Tamihang</i>	<i>Hujung Medini</i>	<i>Jēre</i>
<i>Siyak</i>	<i>Parllak</i>	<i>Kalanten</i>	
<i>Rēkan</i>	<i>Barat</i>	<i>Tringgano</i>	
<i>Kampar</i>	<i>Samudra</i>	<i>Tumasik</i>	



Fig. 2. Sumatra: place-names from classical Malay literature.

(ii) *Sējaraḥ Mēlayu*

Andēlas	Kuala Pēnajeh	Si-Guntang
Ayēr Lēleh	Kuala Tēbing Tinggi	Si-Guntang Mahameru
Bēntan	Lamiri	Singapura
Bēsisek	Langkawi	Saletar
Bērtan	Lēnggui, cf. Glang Gui	Sēlat Sēpat
Batu Pabat	Lēgur	Sēmudra
Bruas Ujong	Lingga	Sēning Ujong
Bruas	Lubok China	Siantan
Dinding	Malaka	Siak
Fansuri	Mēlayu	Sēdili
Glang Gui, cf. Lēnggui	Minangkabau	Sēdili Bēsar
Gunong Ledang	Muar	Sungai Raya
Haru	Muara Tatang	Sēlangor
Indragiri	Palembang	Tanjong Pura
Jambu Ayēr	Pasai	Tumasik
Jambi	Pasangan	Tanjong Singapura
Jenggra	Padang Maya	Tanjong Tuan
Johor	Perak	Tēlok Blanga
Jugra	Pētani	Trēngganu
Kampung Kling	Pērlak	Tungkal
Kamḥar	Pahang	Tugal
Kētui	Pagar Ruyong	Tēlur
Kēlantān	Pagoh	Ujong Karang
Klang	Pēkan Tua	Ujong Tanah
Kopak	Pēkan Tua	Ujong Pasir
Kota Burok	(a different place of	Ulu Muar
Kuala Sayong	the same name).	Ulu Pahang
Kuala Tumasik	Pulau Bēsar	Ulu Sēpantai
Kuala Singapura	Rēkan	
Kuala Pasai	Sayong	

(iii) *Hikayat Hang Tuah*

Bukit China	Indrapura	Pulau Ledang	Sungai Duyong
Bintan	Jēmaja	Pulau Tinggi	Siantan
Batak	Johor	Patani	Trēngganu
Hulu Malaka	Kuala Trēngganu	Pulau Kapas	
Hujung Salang	Malaka	Perak	

(iv) *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*

Bēruana	Kubu	Pulau Pērcha	Sēmudēra
Bunguran	Karimata	Priangan	Siantan
Bēlitong	Lubok Tura	Padang Si-Busuk	Sērasan
Bangka	Lingga	Pēkan	Subi
Bēntan	Minangkabau	Pulau Laut	Tēmiang
Bulang	Pasai	Pulau Tinggi	Tambēlan
Gunong Tēlawas	Pērlak	Pulau Pēmanggilan	Tioman
Jambu Ayēr	Padang Maya	Pasangan	Ujong Tanah
Jambi	Padang Pauh Bēngkok	Riau	
Jēmaja	Palembang	Sēmērlanga	

(v) *Bustan as-Salatin*

<i>Bukit-Si-Guntang</i>	<i>Kampar</i>	<i>Pahang</i>	<i>Tanjong Pura</i>
<i>Johor</i>	<i>Kēlantān</i>	<i>Singapura</i>	<i>Tēmasek</i>
<i>Kēlang</i>	<i>Mēlaka</i>	<i>Siak</i>	<i>Tērēngganu</i>

(vi) *Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*

<i>Bukit Jambul</i>	<i>Lēgur</i>	<i>Perak</i>	<i>Sungai Dēdap</i>
<i>Bukit Mēriam</i>	<i>Pulau Sēri</i>	<i>Pulau Tanjong</i>	<i>Sungai Padang Tērap</i>
<i>Gunong Jērai</i>	(cf. <i>Gunong Jērai</i>)	<i>Padang Tērap</i>	<i>Tanjong Ujong Salang</i>
<i>Kēdah</i>	<i>Pulau Jambul</i>	<i>Sungai Emas</i>	<i>Tanjong Putri</i>
<i>Kuala Muda</i>	(cf. <i>Bukit Jambul</i>)	<i>Sungai Sala</i>	<i>Ujong Salang</i>

(vii) *History of Kēlantān and Trēngganu*

<i>Bēsut</i>	<i>Kēlantān</i>	<i>Limbat</i>	<i>Sēmērak</i>
<i>Bukit Dato'</i>	<i>Kampong Laut</i>	<i>Pētani</i>	<i>Sungai Budul</i>
<i>Banggul</i>	<i>Kubu Kandih</i>	<i>Pasar Sēbrang</i>	<i>Trēngganu</i>
<i>Bachok</i>	<i>Kota</i>	<i>Pasir Mas</i>	<i>Tēlaga Tujoh</i>
<i>Batu Rakit</i>	<i>Kēmaman</i>	<i>Sētitiu</i>	<i>Tumpat</i>
<i>Galas</i>	<i>Losong</i>	<i>Sungai Nērus</i>	
<i>Ja Kēchil</i>	<i>Lēgeh</i>	<i>Sungai Pinang</i>	

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There are four points which, in order to remove possible misunderstanding, require some comment:

1. The same name may be spelt differently in the various texts. Many such variations are only slight, and will hardly give rise to confusion.

Bēntān (Sēj. Mēl.) = *Bintan* (*Hang Tuah*)
Jēre (*Nagar.*) = *Jērai* (*Marong M.*)
Kēlantān (Sēj. Mēl.) = *Kalanten* (*Nagar.*)
Malaka (Sēj. Mēl.) = *Mēlaka* (*Bustan*)
Minangkabau (Sēj. Mēl.) = *Manangkabwa* (*Nagar.*)
Trēngganu (Sēj. Mēl.) = *Tringgano* (*Nagar.*)

In addition, *Ulu* and *Ujong* are also spelt *Hulu* and *Hujong* (C. C. Brown, for instance, uses both spellings in his translation of the *Sējarah Mēlayu*), while *Haru* can also be spelt *Aru*.

2. Other variations are more obscure. Sometimes one locality is denoted by different names in the same or different texts.

Jēnggra (Sēj. Mēl.) = *Jugra* (Sēj. Mēl.); *Tugal* (Sēj. Mēl.) is probably the same as *Tungkal* (Sēj. Mēl.); *Lēgur* (Sēj. Mēl.) = *Ligor* = present-day Nakhon Sri Thāmmarat; *Tumasik* is considered to be the older name for *Singapura*; and of *Lēnggui* it is said: "The original name of the place was *Glang Gui*" (Sēj. Mēl.). *Si-Guntang* and *Mahameru* are twin hills near Palembang, and are therefore sometimes linked together to form one name: [*Bukit*] *Si-Guntang-Mahameru*. In the *Marong Mahawangsa* it is related that what were once islands later became part of the mainland, and changed their names accordingly from *Pulau* (Island) ... to *Bukit* (Hill) or *Gunong* (Mount) ... Thus *Pulau Tanjong* (or *Tunjang*? see 1.7 above) became *Bukit* or *Gunong Tanjong*; *Pulau Jambul* became *Bukit Jambul*; *Pulau Lada* became *Bukit Lada*, and *Pulau Sēri* became *Gunong Jērai*.

There are also instances of one and the same place bearing markedly different names in the several texts.

Thus Barus (Nagar.) = Fansuri (Sěj. Měl.)
Gunong Ledang (Sěj. Měl.) = Pulau Ledang (Hang Tuah).
Parllak (Nagar.) = Pěrlak
Sanghyang Hujung (Nagar.) = Sěnang Ujong (Sěj. Měl.)
Hujung Medini (Nagar.) = Ujong Tanah (Raja-Raja Pasai et al.).
Tamibang (Nagar.) = Těmianġ (Raja-Raja Pasai).

3. In several instances the names found in the texts differ from those which are found on present-day maps. This may be either because the names have undergone alteration through normal phonetic change, or because modern maps use quite different (e.g., European or Europeanized) names. In the first class we have:

Bělitong = present-day Billiton (modern Indonesian maps again use the form Belitung)

Běruana = Bireuen

Lampung = Lampong

Lwas = probably [Padang] Lawas

Pěrlak, Parllak = Peureula

Rěkan = Rokan

Sěmėrlanga = Seumeulanga

Sanghyang Hujung, Sěning Ujong = Sungai Ujong

In the second class:

Andėlas = Sumatra

Běrbisek = probably [Kampong] Sisek

Gunong Ledang = Mount Ophir

Jěnggra, Jugra = Klang (river and district)

Jěrai, Jěre = Kedah Peak

Pulau Pěrcha = Sumatra (possibly used mainly to designate the western half of the island)

Sungai Raya = Batu Pabat River

Ujong Medini, Ujong Tanah = Johor, Johore (or at least the southern tip of this State)

Tanjong Tuan = Cape Rachado

Ujong Salang = Junk Ceylon (Phuket)

4. In a few instances, the same name applies to different places: *Tanjong Pura* may refer to one place in eastern Sumatra or to another in western Borneo (The Borneo one does not occur on our maps).

Dungun; the conjectural *Muwarě Dungun* of the *Nagar.* is present-day *Dungun* in *Trěngganu*. The even more conjectural *Pěngkalan Dungun* of the *Sěj. Měl.* is possibly on the east coast of Sumatra, opposite *Bangka Island*.

Pěkan: the *Sěj. Měl.* refers to one *Pěkan Ṭua* in *Johore* and another in *Sumatra*, on the *Kampar River*. The *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* refers to a different *Pěkan* in *Sumatra*, probably north of the *Siak*.

It will also be noted that many names begin with a component which denotes some feature of the natural landscape. The following is a list of more common elements with their meanings.

<i>Bukit</i> — hill	<i>Pasir</i> — beach
<i>Gunong</i> — mount	<i>Padang</i> — plain
<i>Kampong</i> — village	<i>Pěngkalan</i> — anchorage
<i>Kota</i> — fort	<i>Pulau</i> — island
<i>Kuala</i> —estuary or river-mouth (in- cluding the place where a tributary joins the main stream)	<i>Rimba</i> — forest
<i>Kubu</i> — stockade	<i>Sělat</i> — strait
<i>Lubok</i> — pool	<i>Sungai</i> — river
<i>Muara</i> — estuary, river-mouth	<i>Tanjong</i> — cape
	<i>Tělok</i> — bay
	<i>Ujong (hujong)</i> — headland
	<i>Ulu (bulu)</i> — upper reaches of a river

A place-name may occur alone or in composition with one of the above designations; for example, one finds *Singapura*, *Kuala Singapura* (the mouth of Singapore river), and *Tanjong Singapura* (Singapore Cape). This is not likely to cause confusion.

We are well aware that these maps are very imperfect. Given more time and a more extensive library it would have been possible to take into account a greater number of Malay texts and, more important, to carry out research to try and answer the many problems so far left unsolved, and correct the — we fear, all too numerous — errors, inaccuracies, and inconsistencies which probably will be found to mar the present publication. As it is, we hope the very deficiencies of the present work will stimulate others to improve on our efforts, and to carry on where we have left off.

CHINESE SOURCES FOR THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF MALAYA BEFORE A.D. 1500

By PAUL WHEATLEY

The following contractions are used in the text below.

- BEFEO. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi).
FEQ. *Far Eastern Quarterly* (New York).
JMBRAS. *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore).
JRAS. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (London).
TP. *T'oung Pao* (Leiden).

The prime difficulty facing the historical geographer of early Malaya is the complete lack of indigenous literary sources before the sixteenth century. The earliest extant work in Malay, the *Sējarah Mēlayu*, is attributed to a date no earlier than the middle of that century, while the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires — the first description of any part of the Peninsula from the pen of an alien even temporarily resident — was written only a few years earlier in 1512-5. In Malaya, too, the face of the country is a far less valuable document than in some temperate lands such as Europe or North China. The ravages of climate, insects and moulds and the erosive power of equatorial rainfall combine with a phenomenally rapid deposition of alluvium to obliterate the imprint of man's occupancy almost at the moment when he relinquishes his tenure of the soil and go far to thwart the subtlest investigations of the archaeologist. There are no features in the Malayan landscape comparable, for example, with the lynchets of the European chalklands, the 'lost' villages and fossilized shots of the English Midlands or the abandoned settlements of Eastern Siam, while there are no ecclesiastical or administrative units from this early period to manifest Malay preoccupation with soil and landform such as is betrayed by the shape of the English parish or, from a later date, the seigniories of Lower Canada. Under these circumstances foreign literary records are of paramount importance, and the single most valuable corpus of evidence before A.D. 1500 is that contained in Chinese historical writing. Indeed, prior to the tenth century this is virtually the only source, such vague references as occur in Indian and Western literature, although of considerable interest to the antiquarian, being of little practical value to the historical geographer.

One aspect of this study should be noted at the outset. So wide is the gulf between the geography of ancient and modern Malaya that there has been no continuity of place-names on the Peninsula from early times to the present. The versions which we can resurrect from the dynastic histories and encyclopedias are the contemporary Chinese forms of local names long since fallen into disuse. For the period before 1225, when Chinese versions of a few modern names first appear in the *Chu fan chih*, identifications are wholly by inference. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that, although there is now an established core of identifications acceptable to the majority of historical geographers, all too often it is still a matter of debate whether a place-name should be located on the Peninsula or in some neighbouring territory. For reasons of space the following list includes only those works containing references to places which the author believes to have been situated on the Malay Peninsula.

The Chinese records upon which the historical geographer of Malaya must rely exhibit a rich variety, but can be subsumed under the following categories: dynastic histories; encyclopedias; and travels and topographies.

I. DYNASTIC HISTORIES

These twenty-five officially approved standard histories have been called "the world's greatest repository of historical information." Comprising well over 20,000,000 characters, they are almost wholly untranslated and are, therefore, accessible only to sinologists. Fortunately, they are arranged on a fairly uniform pattern based on that of the second, the *Annals of the Former Han*. Each begins with *ti chi* 帝紀 (imperial records), which deal with successive emperors in turn. This is succeeded by the *chih* 志 (memoirs), a miscellaneous section which includes geographical topics (*ti li* 地理) relating to the Empire; and the history concludes with the *lieb chuan* 列傳 (biographies). It is the last section which contains the descriptions of foreign countries, incorporated with the lives of the most eminent statesmen and envoys of the period. It should be remembered that these histories were written by government officials for the use of bureaucrats, who were probably not vitally interested in the geography of distant countries. This may go far to explain the disparity in the exactness of geographical detail between the *ti li* and the *lieb chuan*.

The objectivity of the Chinese histories has been demonstrated by H.H. Dubs ('The Reliability of Chinese Histories,' *FEQ.*, vol. 6, no. 1, New York, 1946, pp.23-43), who concludes, 'The extraordinarily high Confucian ideal of historical accuracy has kept the best Chinese histories up to a high standard of reliability.'

The most important references to early Malaya will be found in the following histories.

- (1) *Ch'ien han shu* 前漢書 (*Annals of the Former Han*, 206 B.C.-A.D. 25) by Pan Ku 班固. Chap. 28 mentions voyages from China to the east coast of India in the time of Wu-ti (141-87 B.C.) and P'ing-ti (A.D.1-5), the former including what is probably a trans-peninsular portage, the second a coastal voyage round the Peninsula. This passage has been examined by a succession of able scholars including, in chronological order, Pelliot, Herrmann, Laufer, Ferrand, Luce, Fujita Toyohachi and Duyvendak, while the present author has recently proposed some new identifications: "Probable references to the Malay Peninsula in the Annals of the Former Han," *JMBRAS.*, vol. 29, pt. 2 (1956), pp. 79-85, which incorporates full references to previous work.
- (2) *Liang shu* 梁書 (*Annals of the Liang Dynasty*, 502-57) compiled by Yao Ssü-lien 姚思廉 who died in A.D. 637. Chap. 54 contains a section on the *Nan-Hai* 南海 which includes descriptions of several kingdoms known to have been situated on the Malay Peninsula, e.g. *Tun-sun* 頓遜, *Lang-ya-hsiu* 狼牙修, *P'an-p'an* 槃槃 and *Tan-tan* 丹丹, together with brief mention of several others such as *Chu-li* 拘利 and the elusive *Ch'u-tu-k'un* 屈者昆.

Much of the information relating to these early kingdoms is derived from the embassy of K'ang T'ai 康泰 and Chu Ying 朱應 to *Fu-nan* 扶南 in the middle of the third century A.D. Their reports are now lost but substantial quotations are preserved in the *Liang shu*, as well as in the *Shui ching chu* 水經注, the *Shih chi cheng i* 史記正義 and sundry encyclopedias. K'ang T'ai's work is referred to under the following titles: *Fu nan chuan* 扶南傳, *Fu nan chi* 扶南記, *Fu nan t'u su* [chuan] 扶南土俗[傳], and *K'ang T'ai wai kuo chuan* 康泰外國傳; and Chu Ying's as *Fu nan i wu chih* 扶南異物志 and *Fu nan i nan chi* 扶南以南記. For a study of the ancient Malayan place-names mentioned in the *Liang shu* see the author's "The Malay Peninsula as known to

the Chinese of the third century A.D." *JMBRAS.*, vol. 28, pt. 1, pp. 1-23, and "Tun-sun," *JRAS.* (1956), pp. 17-30.

- (3) *Sui shu* 隋書 (*Annals of the Sui Dynasty*, A.D.581-618), compiled by Wei Cheng 魏徵 (581-643), also contains (chap. 82) a lengthy extract from a report no longer extant, the *Ch'ih t'u kuo chi* 赤土國記 (*Record of the Red Earth Kingdom*) by the envoys Ch'ang Chün 常駿 and Wang Chün-cheng 王君政, who visited north-east Malaya in A.D. 607-9. The extract also appears in identical language in chap. 95 of the *Pei shih* 北史 (*History of the Northern Dynasties*, A.D. 420-589) by Li Yen-shou 李延壽.
- (4) *Chiu t'ang shu* 舊唐書 (*Old Annals of the T'ang Dynasty*, A.D.618-906), by Liu Hsü 劉昫 (897-946) and others, includes scattered references to several Malayan countries, notably Ko-lo 哥羅, P'an-p'an 盤盤, Tan-tan, Lo-yueh 羅越, Ko-ku-lo 哥谷羅, Chieh-ch'a 羯荼 and Ch'ih-t'u 赤土. Most of these were retained in the remodelled *Hsin t'ang shu* or *New T'ang Annals* of Ou Yang-hsiu 歐陽修 and Sung Ch'i 宋祁 which were completed in 1060, but this later version also incorporated other material of the highest importance to the historical geographer of South-East Asia, namely, quotations from a lost geographical memoir compiled by Chia Tan 賈耽 between 785 and 805. This takes the form of a series of itineraries, including one from China to India by way of the South Seas which provides supplementary data of great value in locating Ko-lo, Ko-ku-lo, Lo-yueh and the strait *Chih* 質 (Straits of Malacca). Chia Tan's itinerary has been analysed at length by Paul Pelliot in his famous paper, "Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle," *BEFEO.*, vol. 4 (1904), pp.131-413; F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua* (St. Petersburg, 1911); and G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1914), pp.642-4.
- (5) The records of later dynasties also throw light on the historical geography of Malaya during this period, but their information is often drawn from books which are still extant. The most useful of these later histories are: *Sung shih* 宋史 (*History of the Sung*, 960-1279) by T'o-T'o 托托 (1313-55); *Yuan shih* 元史 (*History of the Yüan Dynasty*, 1206-1367) by Sung lien 宋濂 (1310-81), and *Ming shih* 明史 (*History of the Ming*, 1368-1644) by Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉 in 1742.

II. ENCYCLOPEDIAS

Chinese encyclopedias consist almost entirely of selected quotations from earlier writings, usually classified according to subject. Owing to their nature as secondary sources encyclopedias have never been in high repute among Chinese scholars, but not infrequently quotations from such works have proved of greater accuracy and authenticity than the corresponding passages in modern editions of the original sources. Moreover, the earlier encyclopedias often preserve material from works no longer extant. Quotations were not normally altered beyond a slight polishing of the literary style. Needless to say, apart from an insignificant number of fragmentary *ad hoc* renderings made by various scholars at different times, the encyclopedias have not been translated into any foreign tongue.

- (1) The earliest encyclopedia containing information about the Malay Peninsula is the *T'ung tien* 通典 in 200 chuan, compiled over a period of thirty-six years in the eighth century A.D. by Tu Yu 杜佑. This diligent scholar and experienced official carefully selected his items, arranged in chronological order to the end of the T'ang T'ien Pao period (755), from a wide

variety of sources and annotated each with quoted discussions and criticisms of other writers, assembled in such a way as to indicate Tu Yu's own opinions. The editors of the *Ssu k'u ch'uan shu tsung mu* 四庫全書總目 (Catalogue of Books in the Imperial Library, 1782) accord the *T'ung tien* high praise, saying it "is made up entirely of solid material, that it contains all information essential to a knowledge of the period it covers, and that it clearly and systematically traces the evolution of each of the subjects it deals with." The Malayan material is mainly in the section on *Border Affairs* in vol. 188, which includes items on *Ko-lo*, *Tun-sun*, *Lang-ya-hsiu*, *P'an-p'an*, *Ch'ib-t'u*, *Tan-tan* and *Pien-tou* 邊斗.

- (2) From the same century comes the *Yu yang tsa tsu* 酉陽雜俎 in twenty books, written by Tuan Cheng-shih 段成式. This treats largely of the supernatural and miraculous, but is not wholly without value to the historical geographer for it includes a variety of information about the products of China and foreign nations.
- (3) *T'ai p'ing yu lan* 太平御覽 was compiled, between 977 and 983, under the title *Tai p'ing pien lei* 太平編類, by Li Fang 李昉 to provide the Sung Emperor, T'ai Tsung 宋太宗, with a broad foundation of general knowledge. The MS. of a 1,000 chuan was examined by the Emperor at the rate of three books a day so that he reviewed the whole in one year, and from this circumstance the name was changed to *T'ai p'ing yu lan*, which has been retained ever since. The amount of material quoted is very much fuller than in the T'ang encyclopedias. That relating to Malaya is found chiefly in chaps. 187 (*Ch'ib-t'u*, *Lang-ya-hsiu* and *P'an-P'an*) and 188 (*Tun-sun*, *Tan-tan* and *Pien-tou*), with some further information on products in the botanical section, chap. 982.
- (4) *Ts'e fu yuan kuei* 冊府元龜, in 1,000 chuan, is a collection of material relating to the lives of early emperors and ministers, which was designed as a guide for government officials. Completed under imperial auspices in 1013 by Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若, it contains only authoritative material, much of which is not found in other extant works, even the dynastic histories. Except for the introductions and some glosses, this encyclopedia consists of quotations arranged chronologically under each item. The Malayan material is mostly in Chap. 969.
- (5) *Wen hsien t'ung k'ao* 文獻通考, compiled in 348 chüan by Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨, who lived at the end of the Sung and beginning of the Yüan dynasty, is based fundamentally on the *T'ung tien*, with a great deal of later material added by the compiler himself. He frequently included information which is omitted from the *Sung shih*. The items relating to Malaya are mostly in the section on frontiers in vols. 331 and 332, which include sections on *Ko-lo*, *Tun-sun*, *Lang-ya-hsiu*, *P'an-p'an*, *Pien-tou* and *Tan-tan*.

III. TRAVELS AND TOPOGRAPHIES

(1) *Records of Buddhist Pilgrims*

(i) Buddhist scriptures were brought to China during the first century A.D. or earlier by Indian missionaries, and Chinese converts were soon undertaking the arduous journey to India, the Holy Land of their faith, there to study Sanskrit texts and commentaries. The first of these

pilgrims whose writings have been preserved is Shih Fa Hsien 釋法顯¹ who, in A.D. 413-4, returned from India to China by way of the *Nan Hai*. His account of his voyage from Ceylon to China is easily the most valuable record of a voyage in the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea which has come down to us from antiquity. It is found towards the end of the work which Fa Hsien, in collaboration with an Indian priest, compiled on his return to China, namely the *Fo-kuo chi* 佛國記 (*Record of the Buddhist kingdoms*). This has been translated by S. Beal (*Buddhist records of the western world*, London, N.D., pp. xxiii-lxxxiii); J. Legge, (*A record of Buddhist kingdoms*, Oxford, 1886); and H. A. Giles (*The travels of Fa-hsien*, Cambridge, 1923). The routes mapped in the latter two works cannot be accepted since the publication of a paper by A. Grimes, "The journey of Fa-hsien from Ceylon to Canton", *JMBRAS.*, vol. 19, pt. 1 (1941), pp. 76-92.

(ii) The second of these pilgrims of interest to us is Hsüan-tsang 玄奘,² whose journey to India and back lasted from A.D. 629-45. He travelled both ways by land, but he did visit *Samatata*, a small state on the coast north of Chittagong and reported on kingdoms in South-East Asia by hearsay. His account of the countries he visited and heard about is contained in *Ta t'ang hsi yü chi* 大唐西域記 (*Record of the western world during the great T'ang dynasty*) in twelve books, written by Pien Chi 辯機 from the dictation of Hsüan-tsang himself in A.D. 646. This has been translated into English by S. Beal, op. cit., pp. 1-326.

The same information also finds a place in a biography of Hsüan-tsang, *Ta t'ang ta tz'u en ssu san ts'ang fa shih chuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (*Memoir on the Master of the Law of the Tripitaka of the Great Temple of Compassion during the Great T'ang dynasty*), written originally, probably in five chapters, by Hui-li, one of the Master's disciples, and afterwards enlarged and completed in ten chapters by the monk Yen-sung. This work has been translated into English by S. Beal, *The Life of Hsüan-Tsang* (London, 1911).

(iii) The most famous of the Buddhist pilgrims who visited India during the T'ang period was undoubtedly I-ching 義淨. Setting sail in A.D. 671, this monk proceeded by way of the South Seas to India. After three years he returned to Sri Vijaya, whence he dispatched to China his *Nan hai chi kuei nei fa chuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 (*Memoir on the esoteric doctrine sent home from the South Seas*) in four chapters. The object of this work was to refute erroneous opinions prevalent in China as to the teaching of the various Buddhist schools or *nikayas*. It is in fact an exclusive representation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School, but it claims our attention by virtue of the valuable geographical notes interpolated by the author. This work has been translated into English by J. Takakusu, *A record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (Oxford, 1896).

I-ching eventually returned to Honan in 693 or 694, and spent his declining years in translating and compiling. From this period dates his

1. Called Fa Ming 法明 in *T'ung tien* because, after the character *hsien* had been appropriated by the Emperor Chung Tsung, it was no longer available for lesser mortals. *Shih* is an abbreviation of the name of the Buddha Sakyamuni and may be read as "Buddhist".
2. Appears as Yuan tsang 元奘 in *K'ang-hsi tzu-tien* 康熙字典 after the K'ang Hsi Emperor had adopted Hsuan as his personal name.

most valuable contribution to the geography of the South Seas, namely *Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu fa kao seng chuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (*Memoir on the Eminent Monks who sought the Law in the West during the Great T'ang Dynasty*) in two parts. This takes the form of a series of biographies of some sixty Buddhist pilgrims, including I-ching himself who set out for India during the second half of the seventh century. Of these, thirty-seven travelled by sea, and the route which we can reconstruct from their composite voyages is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of navigation during T'ang times. There is a French translation of this work by E. Chavannes, *Memoire composée à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'Occident* (Paris, 1894).

(2) *Topographies*

(i) *T'ai ping huan yü chi* 太平寰宇記, by Lo-shih 樂史, is a general statistical and descriptive topography, in 193 books, of the Empire, together with some data on neighbouring countries. The Malayan material is in chaps. 176 (Ko-lo, Tun-sun, Lang-ya-bsu, P'an-p'an) and 177 (Ch'ih-p'u, Tan-tan and Pien-tou).

(ii) *Ling wai tai ta* 嶺外代答 was written in ten books by Chou Ch'ü-fei 周去非, Assistant Sub-Prefect in Kuei-lin, the capital of Kuang-si, in 1178. Professing to be supplementary to the *Kuei bai yü heng chih* 桂海虞衡志 by Fan Ching-ta, a topography of the southern provinces of the Empire, the *Ling wai tai ta* adds summary outlines of numerous South Asian countries.

(iii) In 1225 was published one of the most important sources for the study of oriental sea-trade in the Sung period; *Chu fan chih* 諸蕃志 (*Description of the Barbarians*). This was the work of Chao Ju-kua 趙汝适, a Commissioner of Foreign Trade at Ch'üan-chou in Fukien province. This book is divided into two parts. The first comprises descriptions of countries in South and East Asia and as far west as the African coast and the Mediterranean. The author abstracted much of this from the *Ling wai tai ta*, but his official position afforded him exceptional opportunities for obtaining information from foreign and Chinese sailors who frequented Ch'üan-chou, and several sections relating to South-East Asia appear to be derived solely from such oral communication. The second part of the work is devoted to a systematic description of the principal foreign products mentioned in Part I, for which Chao again drew largely on his personal association with overseas traders, supplemented by borrowings from the *Ling wai tai ta*, *Yu yang tsa tsu*, and to a lesser extent from dynastic histories, *T'ung tien* and other works. The Malayan kingdoms described by Chao are:— *Teng-liu-mei* 登流眉, *Tan-ma-ling* 單馬令, *Ling-ya-ssu-chia* 凌牙斯加 and *Fo-lo-an* 佛囉安, with incidental references to Pahang 蓬豐 and Kēlantān 吉蘭丹. There is an English translation by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockill, *Chau Ju-kua* (St. Petersburg, 1911).

(iv) *Tao i chih liob* 島夷誌略 (*Description of the Barbarians of the Isles*) is a description in 100 sections of 99 countries, ports and noteworthy localities ranging from the Moluccas to Arabia and the African coast. It was compiled in 1349 by Wang Ta-yüan 汪大淵 (cognomen Huan-chang 換章) who had himself traded in a considerable number of foreign localities in and subsequent to 1330 (*vide Ssu k'u*, 12). The only

perceptible plan underlying this work is a general arrangement of countries into eastern and western, but there are frequent exceptions even in this. The influence of Chao Ju-kua is apparent in the arrangement of the text, but there are only five direct quotations and localities mentioned in *Chu fan chih* often appear in Wang's work under a different orthography. The following Malayan kingdoms are described: Pahang 彭坑, Kêlantan 吉蘭丹, Trêngganu 丁家盧, Langkasuka 龍牙犀角, Keppel Harbour 龍牙門, Tan-ma-ling 丹馬令, and possibly Wu-chih-pa 無枝拔, Min-to-lang 民多郎, Lo-wei 羅衛 and Hsiao-pen 嘯噴. The first scholar to attempt to identify the countries referred to in this work was Fujita Toyohachi in *Tao i chih liob chiao chu* 島夷誌略校注, published in Hsueh pang ts'ung k'e 雪堂叢刻. There is also an English translation incorporated in W.W. Rockhill's "Notes on the relations and trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the coast of the Indian Ocean during the fourteenth centry, pt. 2", *TP.*, vol. 16 (1915), pp. 61-159.

(3) *The Ming voyages*

With the decay of Mongol dominance over Asia, during which there had been a lively intercourse between East and West, imports into China practically ceased. In a strenuous effort to resuscitate this foreign trade, the third emperor of the Ming dynasty sent at least seven major expeditions, under the command of Cheng Ho, into the Nan-Hai, the Indian Ocean and even beyond. These expeditions, the first authenticated occasions on which Chinese had reached as far as the African Coast, were recorded in four main works.

(i) *Hsi yang fan kuo chih* 西洋番國志 (*Record of the Western Barbarians*) of Kung Chen 鞏珍, who accompanied the expedition of 1431-3 as a secretary. In 1434 he published the description of the twenty countries he had visited, including Malacca. This work is continuous narrative with no divisions into chapters. It has not been translated.

(ii) *Hsing ch'a sheng lan* 星槎勝覽 (*Description of the Starry Raft*)¹ by Fei Hsin 費信 (1436), a man belonging to the scholar class who had visited the Nan Hai in the suite of Cheng Ho. The text usually quoted consists of four chapters in *Ku chin shuo hai* 古今說海 (1544); of one chapter in *Chi lu hui pien* 紀錄彙編 (1617); and again of four chapters in both the *Hsueh hai lei pien* 學海類編 and the *Che ku ts'ung ch'ao* 澤古叢鈔. This text does not differentiate between the countries visited by Fei Hsin himself and those on which he reported by hearsay, but another, of only two chapters, in the *T'ien i ko* 天一閣, a famous private library of the Fan family of Ningpo, makes this distinction. Paul Pelliot has established the relationship of these texts in "Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début du XVe siècle," *TP.*, vol. 30 pp. 264-339. The Malayan places reported on at first hand are Malacca 滿刺加 and Lung-ya-hsi-chiao 龍牙犀角; those by hearsay are Lung-yamen 龍牙門 and Pahang 彭坑. An English translation is incorporated in Rockhill, loc. cit.

(iii) *Ying yai sheng lan* 瀛涯勝覽 (*Description of the Coasts of the Ocean*), published in 1451 by Ma Huan 馬歡, a Muslim interpreter who also accompanied Cheng Ho on some of his expeditions. The tortuous bibliography of this work has been elucidated by the combined efforts of Duyvendak ("Ma Huan re-examined") and Pelliot (op. cit., pp. 241-64).

1. i.e., a ship carrying an imperial ambassador.

The fundamental edition is that in chap. 62 of *Chi lu bui pien* 紀錄彙編 of Chen Chieh-fu 沈節甫 (1617). The *Ying yai sheng lan*, wherever it overlaps the work of Fei Hsin, is found to attain a much higher standard of factual accuracy. The only Malayan country described is Malacca 滿刺加. There are two translations of this passage: by Groeneveldt, and Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 114-7. This latter translation is derived from a rifacimento of the original text, and should be supplemented by amendments by Duyvendak (op. cit., pp. 42-5) and Pelliot (op. cit., pp. 389-400).

(iv) *Hsi yang chao kung tien lu* 西洋朝貢典錄 (*Record of the Tributary Nations of the West*) was written by the well-known scholar, Huang Sheng-ts'eng 黃省曾 in 1520. Of the twenty-three countries described, only Malacca 滿刺加 and Pahang 彭坑 are on the Malay Peninsula, and the descriptions of these are derived wholly from the *Ying yai sheng lan* and *Hsing ch'a sheng lan*.

(v) *Wu pei chih* 武備志, (*Notes on Military Preparation*) was compiled by Mao Yuan-i 茅元儀. The preface is dated 1621, but it was not offered to the throne until 1628, so that we know it was printed subsequent to the latter date. Of chief interest to the historical geographer are the maps on ff. 2 verso-22 recto of chap. 240 which are believed to show the routes of the Ming fleets during the first third of the fifteenth century. Information relating to the time and direction of the voyage is inscribed along the lines marking the tracks of the vessels, so that these maps perform at one and the same time the function of charts and sailing directions. The section along the Malayan coasts (ff. 14 verso-17 recto) has been analysed in detail by J. V. Mills, "Malaya in the Wu-pei-chih charts," *JMBRAS.*, vol. 15, pt. 3 (1937), pp. 1-48. Unfortunately Mills worked not from the original charts but from tracings made by George Phillips in 1885-6, which were themselves abstracted from a late compilation known as the *Wu-pei-pi-shu* 武備秘書. It is not surprising, therefore, that a few of Mills's place-name transcriptions are erroneous. Moreover, his translation of the sailing directions should be revised in accordance with the compass-card reconstructed by W. Z. Mulder, "The 'Wu pei chih' Charts," *TP.*, vol. 37 (1944), pp. 1-14.

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Students of historical geography wishing to specialize in this particular period cannot do better than begin with Sir Roland Braddell's series of papers in *JMBRAS.*, 1935-51, while the earlier centuries are treated with great succinctness by G. H. Luce in "Countries neighbouring Burma," *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. 14, pt. 2 (Rangoon, 1925), pp. 138-205. The best introductions in Chinese are (1) the collected papers of Fujita Toyohachi, translated into Chinese under the title 中國南海古代交通叢考 by Ho Chien-min 何健民 (Shanghai, 1936); and (2) Feng Ch'en-chün 馮承鈞, 中國南洋交通史 (Shanghai, 1937).

THE MALAYAN JOURNAL OF
TROPICAL GEOGRAPHY

L. H. G. DORRIS, M.A.

AND OTHERS

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF MALAYA
SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

